THE EMPIRE CLUB

ADDRESSES 1952-1953

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THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

JOHN GRIFFIN

President of The Empire Club of Canada

1952-1953

THE EMPIRE CLUB
OF CANADA

Addresses 1952-1953

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN

TORONTO: T. H. BEST PRINTING CO. LTD.

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The Empire Club of Canada

Fiftieth year of Issue

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PRINTED AND BOUND IN CANADA
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EXCERPT FROM "ORIGIN AND OBJECTS OF THE EMPIRE CLUB" PUBLISHED IN THE YEAR BOOK FOR 1903-1904

On November 18th, 1903, a small meeting was held in Webb's Restaurant, Toronto, mainly on the initiative of Lieut.-Col. James Mason, for the purpose of preliminary discussion. The Chairman in a brief speech pointed to the desirability of an organization, following the plan of weekly luncheons, to be addressed by prominent men, or men speaking with authority upon the issues of the day, and having also a distinctive basis of British Unity in its work and policy.

A sub-Committee met on the following day and appointed . . . . . a Committee to draft a Constitution.

The meeting at which these principles and rules were approved and organization effected was held at the Luncheon hour on November 25th, in Webb's Restaurant, with some seventy gentlemen present . . . . after a discussion of various proposed names . . . . The Empire Club of Canada . . . . was approved by a large majority.

THE ROYAL EMPIRE SOCIETY

AND

THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

The Royal Empire Society of London, England, and The Empire Club of Canada at Toronto were both founded for a single purpose and with a common aim:—The strengthening of the bonds of unity within the Empire. This mutual objective is prosecuted with vigorous enthusiasm by the members of these organizations on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean.

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The opinions and views expressed in the Addresses contained in this volume are those of the speakers themselves and do not necessarily carry the full or partial endorsement of The Empire Club of Canada.

THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

"GROWING PAINS"

An Address by

AUSTIN S. IGLEHEART

Joint Meeting with the American Men's Club of Toronto and The Canadian Club of Toronto

Tuesday, May 20th, 1952

CHAIRMAN: The President of the American Men's Club of Toronto, Rear-Admiral W. V. Saunders.

INTRODUCED BY: The President of The Canadian Club of Toronto, Mr. John C. Porter.

MR. PORTER: Ladies and Gentlemen: It is indeed an honor to have been asked to introduce such a distinguished guest of the American Men's Club of Toronto.

Our speaker today is president of one of the largest manufacturers of packaged food products in the world and when I mention such household names as Baker's Chocolate, Swansdown Flour, Grapenuts, Postum, Maxwell House Coffee, Certo, Post Bran Flakes, and Jello, you will know immediately just how remarkably successful the General Foods Corporation has been in gaining public acceptance for its brands, in a highly competitive market. I venture to say these, and many other of their brands, are well represented in every Canadian kitchen.

Ever since graduating from the University of Wisconsin 40 years ago, our guest has been engaged in the packaged food business. When he first joined the family milling business of Igleheart Bros. Incorporated, advertising and sales promotion engaged his attention and his talents. One of the results was that the national demand which was created for Swansdown Flour made it a leader in its field.

In 1926, Igleheart Bros. joined General Foods. From Vice-President of manufacturing and transportation our speaker moved to the position of Vice-president, Sales, Executive Vice-President and in 1943 became President of this great company.

As is sometimes the case, the busier a man gets the more duties he acquires. Mr. Igleheart is on the board of such important concerns as the Chase National Bank, Chicago and Eastern Illinois Railroad, Commercial Solvents Corporation, International Steel Company and Mead, Johnson & Company. He is chairman of the Public Affairs Committee of the Grocery Manufacturers of America, a director of the National Association of Manufacturers and a member of the National Industrial Conference Board.

With Canada virtually at the start of an era of large scale industrialization, today's subject is not only timely, but of utmost interest to every thinking Canadian.

I have much pleasure indeed in introducing to you Mr. Austin S. Igleheart, president of General Foods Corporation, who will address you on the subject: "Growing Pains".

MR. IGLEHEART: Probably many of you had "growing pains"—that's what our parents called them—when you were younger.

In those days our parents didn't worry much about growing pains. And for you, well, most likely in the daytime you were too busy to even notice them. I remember my growing pains usually came at night after a strenuous day.

Today we have lear*ned* doctors who have classified pains and given them far more impressive sounding names. There is a great fad for isolating physical and mental disorder. Doctors think they know all there is to know about growing pains. But nations have had their growing pains, too. We have them now. Perhaps we grew too fast, so fast we put a strain on our systems. Whatever happened, for all our medical magic, no one has yet isolated, classified, or named these growing pains of industrial society.

And we'd better not laugh them off. For it's a grave problem that a physically sound and vigorous system of enterprise in the United States should be burdened with dissatisfaction, distrust, and misunderstanding. Why should business, despite the great material advantages it has brought people, become the object of their rather indefinite disdain? And why should big business become the object of a definite attack?

As a member of a *so-called* big business, I can't help puzzling the paradox of why most people prefer to work for big business, own its stock and buy its products, but just *don't like* big business. I have an idea that these are the results of growing pains—not so simple, not so pure, but not incurable, either.

DON'T COPY OUR MISTAKES

You, in Canada, have reason to be proud of your country's magnificent development. You are big now and powerful. Over the last 12 years Canada's gross national product has risen a phenomenal 90 per cent. Your certain destiny is to grow much bigger and stronger. You have the resources, the "know-how," and the plans. What's more, you have the confidence—the enthusiasm—of a people who seem sure of their unlimited future. You in Canada will certainly determine your own future. And the product of your growth will be distinctively Canadian. Probably you have very little more to learn from us. But from our errors you, in your own way, may find out how to avoid some of the industrial growing pains we experienced and from which we are suffering now. You have the opportunity to create a solid basis for broad understanding of the role of business in your economy.

I don't pretend to be a doctor. I can't offer any patent remedies. I'm a businessman from the States in the basic but glamorous business of grocery manufacture. Some 40 years of experience don't in themselves entitle me to this audience. But over this span I've seen misunderstanding grow large and ugly because of innocent mistakes. And as a businessman and a citizen I've made my own mistakes. After years of wondering and questioning, some things have become clearer. At least, it's possible in retrospect to tell which of our aches were really adolescent.

OVERLOOKING INDIVIDUALISM

One of them was a severe case of under-emphasis. We under-estimated the size and scope of our most important responsibility, selling the system. Only recently has understanding of business by the public seemed very important in the States. Up to a point we seemed to get along fine without it. For management, the easy way out of its responsibility for understanding was to single out just two villians—the misinformed and the subversive. Unquestionably, ignorance has prevented us from putting our story across, and subversives have twisted the story and dreamed up nasty fairy tales about us. And unquestionably, we *must* make our story so compelling that it can't be misunderstood or distorted. But, let's face it, even many of our intelligent and informed citizens seem to feel that there's something anti-social, uneconomic, and unsavory about big business.

We can talk facts until we're blue in the face and it won't do much good. The after-effects of under-emphasis still linger. Many millions of Americans who read balance sheets, who have read Karl Marx and know it's so much bunk, still have to feel that business—big and small—is a force for the betterment of civilization. It's time we faced up to the fact that we've slipped up in assuming our social responsibility. And now our collective slips are showing.

Like the youngster whose voice is changing, our words never came out quite the way we intended. We tried to show that a people proud of their rugged individualism could find satisfactions in working for large business institutions. But somehow we made it appear that the individual would be lost in the group. Team effort, the idea of working for a boss who works for his boss and so on up the line to an anonymous group of stockholders, may not appeal particularly to the great grandson of a hardly pioneer. Nor to a child today raised on the super soft doctrine of self-expression. Instead of singing the praises of free wheeling initiative, our voices cracked and we made our one and only pitch for "team play."

Yes, and we suffered from myopia. In our preoccupations we were just too nearsighted to see that the North American spectator roots with heart and soul for the underdog—the little fellow—to triumph in the ball park, the prize ring, or the moving picture theater. Of course, big business can't pretend it's small, and wants no part of the underdog's role. But in losing the sense of up-hill struggle, we've lost the sympathetic support of a nation of rooters. We should have seen the dramatic struggles around us—against poverty, hatred, ignorance, and corruption—all formidable foes.

Sometimes, even our own family didn't understand us. Some people made the mistake of applying to big business the theories of Darwin, "the survival of the fittest." It worked a strange misconception. The theory that nature achieves a rough balance and stability by having the stronger kill off the weaker species seems, at first, to have an exact parallel in business. But the business world is not static—rather it has enjoyed constantly expanding markets. Not only has there been room enough for large and small alike, but actually, the large have grown only as the small have prospered. The huge factories in our Detroits can't get along without the little tool works and parts manufacturers in all our Crabtree Corners. Or the small retailers, either. For sure, though, large or small, they have to make a profit—that's the business rule of survival.

PROSPERITY THOUGHT SHAMEFUL

Stranger yet, a few of our people picked up some fantastic phobias. They find no solace in the wealth their country has built and is building. They act ashamed of material abundance. They find industry crass and crude, and neurotically they pine for the illusion of the good old days or new utopias. Having comfort, they apologize for it, belittle it, but seldom would they renounce it. To me it's an incredible reaction, but perhaps a psychologist could explain it.

But most damaging of all to our growing pains is a newcomer, a sort of creeping mercantile paralysis. This paralysis, economic rigmarole, hits at the primary laws of business. Rules, regulations, and controls are epidemic. The basic relationships of supply and demand, competition—even now, profits—work imperfectly, if at all. Legislation is one of the few constants in the business equation—and more frequently it is being directed against big business. We operate in a kind of never-never world, as weird in some ways as Alice's Wonderland, where two and two can be legislated to equal five or three. It's becoming increasingly difficult to find, let alone explain, the economic principles of free enterprise. And frankly, we're not doing too good a job. Sure, we've talked and advertised and sometimes set up elaborate programs for "education." But too often we've reduced prosperity to formulas, made it seem automatic and inevitable. We've quoted volumes of statistics, nagged the public with what the system has meant to them. We haven't paid our debt to people for making the system work.

Our failure adds up to this—we've never made the system *come alive* for people. And so the public believes that tight controls and restrictive regulations are the cures for business ills rather than one of its diseases.

To our own blunders, to the paradox of discontent in the midst of plenty, and to the turn of history, add a full measure of misunderstanding, stir with a demagogue, and you have the mess of trouble our big business faces today.

SKELETONS STILL IN OUR CLOSETS

Industry grew like Topsy in the earlier days of the United States. It wasn't long before we reached the awkward age. Like Stephen Leacock's rider, industry "rode madly off in all directions." It prospered though lacking in pattern or plan, so insatiable were the demands of a people striving for the bigger and better. Ackwardness and immaturity made us look silly sometimes. It's no secret either that some of the "barons" of 19th century enterprise employed tactics far too rugged for a modern society. The second and third-hand memory of this bygone era—gone with good riddance—is unfortunately not entirely forgotten. Unfortunately, too, we have never in so many words disowned these disreputable characters and swept their skeletons from our closets. As a result we lost the support of some idealistic and sensitive people who should have been most loyal to the system we have.

As industry became gangly, it popped some of its seams. The fabric of communication no longer fit. It was stretched almost to the breaking point. Workers once knew their big bosses by their first name. Now they seldom see them.

We had high hopes for mass communications and perhaps they appealed to the mass—but not too well on the personal level. It seems to me that 30 years ago, when I worked in a medium-sized family business, we didn't have much trouble with "human relations." Perhaps because the company wasn't big; or perhaps because human relations is a word we didn't need 30 years ago.

It may have been inevitable, too, that adolescence robbed the great corporations of some of the distinctiveness of their personalities. In other days a grocer was known for his yarns over a cracker barrel and for the pungent aromas of coffees and spices. The shoemaker's shop gave off the rich smell of leather, the blacksmith's resounded with the ringing sounds of the forge.

Somewhere along the line, business management's youthful exuberance turned to shyness. We preferred to suffer our growing pains in silence, and we withdrew from our other obligations. We went into our shells. With our colleagues we found ourselves in a very nearly exclusive fraternity. Only occasionally did we interest ourselves in our employees as people. Seldom did we meet with the influential groups in our communities—with teachers, students, church groups and women's clubs. Instead we let a good many Georges do it. And usually they did a thorough job. Our influence shrank to a whisper in local, state, and national affairs; we very nearly forfeited our right to speak at all.

Indicative of the poor impression we made was the caricatured businessman. Now, I don't believe there is such a thing as a typical executive. But apparently the public has an unflattering, mistaken, but highly styled picture of the big bosses of industry.

MANY BOSSES

However you look at it, the boss is in a tough spot. Once upon a time when the boss was *the* supreme authority, I suppose it was easier. But today, while management has the responsibility, chunks of authority are held by other bosses—the stockholder, the union leader, the the government official, the mass of public opinion—and, as always, the customer.

That's the way things are going.

One of our major concerns is public misunderstanding of profits—what they are and what they do. I am sure all of you remember in the study of arithmetic in primary school the lesson of the man who bought a horse for $100 and sold it for $125. The difference was profit and so labelled. But nothing was said about the fact that he had to feed the animal for a month, spent quite a little time in bargaining for it to buy it for $100, and more time to sell it for $125. So a misconception has arisen that where a merchant buys an item for $1.00 and sells it for $1.25 he has made a 25 per cent profit.

Then we have confusion over terms—gross profit, operating profit, net profit, profit before tax, and profit after tax. Is it any wonder that the public is confused about what a profit is? Actually, it is what is left after all kinds of charges and expenses have been taken care of.

Now as to what profits do. First and foremost they regulate (and very drastically) those concerns that stay in business, because without profit no enterprise can continue. Profit is the only determinant as to what items are to be produced and in what quantities. Every day as each of us pay for the items by which we live we are voting *for* the concern whose goods or services we buy and *against* those whose goods we do not buy. It is this action on the part of the public that determines which companies grow bigger, which companies grow smaller and eventually go out of business. In other words, it is the consuming public that eventually decides the size of the organization from whom they prefer to draw their goods and services. Only by serving the consuming public can an enterprise stay in business.

As simple as these facts are, we in business have failed to get this subject across. And even if we get this story across, we still have the problem of convincing the public that profits are not nearly as high as they believe, that they are nearer five than 25 cents on the dollar. But how did we ever get backed into the position of having to defend profits in the first place?

All this may sound to you as though I believe that business is a physical wreck, that drastic changes are needed. No, thank you. No patent medicines, no cure-alls . . . . above all, no surgery. These are the growing pains of a healthy body. Some of them are rooted in our history, some in our character or emotions, and others . . . . well, they just happened. A few could have been prevented. Obviously information isn't the complete remedy because prejudices are seldom based on fact. I have confidence, though, that understanding, patience, a realistic approach to the problem will work an eventual cure.

WHEN IS A BUSINESS BIG?

I may have seemed harsh in my criticisms of big business in the States. If I have, it's because I'm for big business and what it has done and can do . . . . Because my patience is running thin . . . . And because I, along with many others, share a great responsibility. You know, my company has sometimes been called a "giant among food manufacturers." I'm not sure that it's meant as a compliment. I am sure, though, that General Foods is a pygmy in a giant-sized industry. Our company's share of the U.S. dry grocery market is less than two per cent. And in Canada it's not quite that high.

In some ways the history of General Foods presents an interesting—if not entirely typical—case history of how businesses grow up. Actually, the company is a group of smaller product operations. We grew, at first, from a series of mergers, most of which took place in the late twenties and thirties. Why? A matter of logic—there are real economies in the combining of purchasing and marketing functions for a group of similarly handled products. There are opportunities for better service to the consumer—better goods at lower prices. And there are still opportunities to grow. The research laboratory has opened up new areas to be pioneered. Almost 15% of our sales have come from new products developed since the last war. These products and others still incubating promise a substantial part of General Foods' future.

The growth of our Canadian operation, General Foods Limited, is another case in point. Apart, as subsidiaries of separate food companies in the States, most of them were unprofitable. Only when they were joined together as one company did they show a profit . . . and then only after several years of hard work. The credit, of course, goes to the people who run the business. With only a couple of exceptions they are all Canadian citizens. And they are running the business successfully.

The case against big business is so implausible and inconsistent it's difficult to answer. A will-o'-the-wispish set of tortured facts, emotions, and flimsy philosophies, the arguments are super-charged with pure poppycock. There are no generally accepted definitions, no yardsticks—when is a business big? When it has a thousand employees? fifty thousand? a hundred million dollars of sales? a billion? It is gauged by the share of the market a product holds? If so, Postum then is a big business and Maxwell House Coffee a very little one.

WHY BIG BUSINESS?

Certainly, there's precious little substance to the argument when comparative sizes are criticized without regard for the *reason* bigness was attained. And the emotional approach—that big institutions necessarily are "bad"—is not only unjustified but terribly dangerous in the face of our country's critical needs for the benefits of large scale production.

Big industry has evolved for the same reasons we find ourselves with big government and big argriculture today.

And that's because we have huge demands and need the great capacity of the large institution.

A fuss is made about business concentration and monopoly. But the facts don't support any significant trend in that direction. And in many fields it's plainly impossible to set up a monopoly. I don't believe anyone could ever form a monopoly in women's hats. In many other businesses the market is 'way too large for any one company to cover. If the profit picture is attractive enough, competition in a free economy can and will knock over the protective fences. As businessmen—big businessmen, if you will—we believe we're better off in a competitive system. Of course, we aren't getting chummy with our competitors, but we realize that we might be in for trouble if our suppliers were monopolies and we had only a few customers. General Foods, for one, wants to go on doing business with some 50,000 suppliers and 35,000 customer companies.

PUBLIC IS BIG WINNER

But, believe me, we have the right to grow. I never heard of a small business that didn't aim to be a bigger one. Sure enough, for every business that succeeds there are ten that fail. But every business, if it serves, should have the chance to prosper in an expanding country. If companies are to risk, they want no less and no more than a fair chance of winning. If, in our economic system, the dice were ever loaded against a fair shake, investment would end right there. And the big loser would be the public. With their dollars they decide whether a business should grow or not. And that's as it should be. And it usually works out that the public is the big benefactor of the risks that pay off. Not only do they gain new products, but the chain reaction set off by an important new product creates other new businesses, new jobs, and new wealth. For instance, there's no complete record of the impact of frozen foods on the grocery business and other related industries. But we do know the business General Foods nursed through its early stages meant hundreds of thousands of new jobs and millions of dollars in new business activity.

Big business gave a powerful push to progress.

Even though the automobile, antibiotics, and electronics were once spawned in small companies, it stands to reason that it took large organizations to bring their benefits to the public. Some types of products require a large initial investment and large sums to perfect and manufacture them. Only a sound company, big or little, can survive the bleeding red ink of a new and ambitious project. It seldom goes into the black for a number of years.

THE ROAD AHEAD

Now you know, there are many practical reasons why our economy needs big business. And the growing pains which must be corrected, can be corrected. More encouraging, the job is being done, as it should be done, by men in business. In Canada and the United States, industry is now taking the lead to tell its story the way it knows best—by producing goods for an ever increasing standard of living. But the story is also being translated through words and facts. And all the while the new and dynamic business personality is taking shape in men's minds. Service . . . responsibility . . . integrity . . . spiritual satisfactions. Here is something with meaning and significance for people. It has the power to spark a deeper loyalty for what we stand for, as well as for what we may have accomplished.

I believe you in Canada will do an even better job than we in the States. You are avoiding many of our clumsy errors. Canada is building sturdy businesses both large and small, that should have few worries about growing pains—provided you don't laugh them off. As you build and as we cure we should become even better customers and better friends. Side-by-side, but each in our own way, we can achieve our common aims.

You have not only time on your side, but natural wealth, vigor, and above all else you have mature judgment.

You have an enviable future.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. John W. Griffin.

"FORTY YEARS IN THE BRITISH HOUSE OF COMMONS"

An Address by

LORD CAMPION OF BOWES, G.C.B.

Thursday, June 5th, 1952

CHAIRMAN: The President, Mr. John W. Griffin.

MR. GRIFFIN: Members and Guests of the Empire Club of Canada: We are to hear an address today by Lord Campion of Bowes, former Clerk of the House of Commons. Gilbert Francis Montriou Campion was born at Simla in 1882, the son of the Chief Engineer in the Punjab. He went to England to school at the age of eleven and in due course distinguished himself in Classics and Humane Letters at Oxford.

Our Speaker joined the staff of the House of Commons in 1906 and steadily rose in this august service, becoming Clerk in 1937. He held this ancient office until he retired in 1948.

He is the author of an authoritative book on House of Commons Procedure, editor of "May's Parliamentary Practice" and has contributed to Halsbury's "Laws of England". On the stage that is the Commons he has seen enacted much of the high drama of our times and before him have walked and spoken the great of the 20th Century. From this rich background Lord Campion will speak to us on the subject, "Forty Years in the British House of Commons."

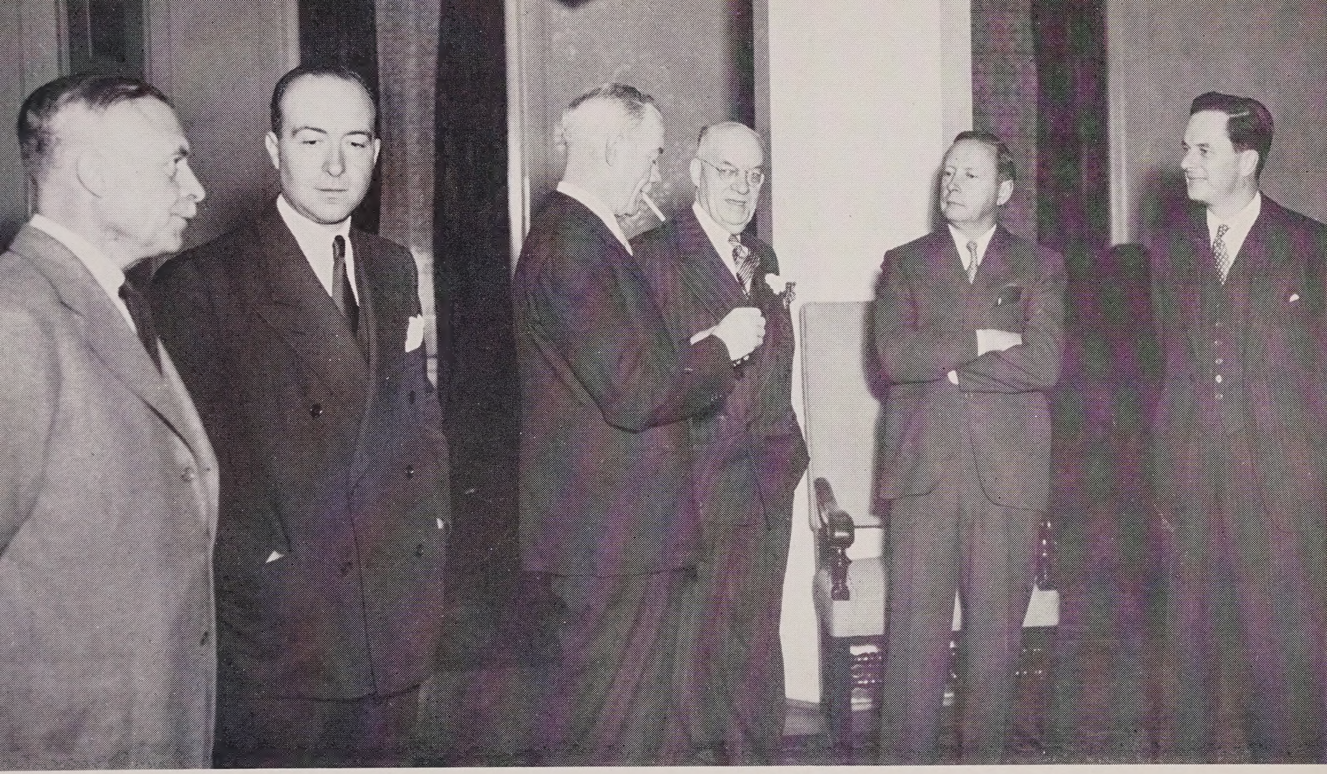
LORD CAMPION: Mr. Chairman, Gentlemen: I feel it a great honour to be invited to address this distinguished assembly—an honour which I very much appreciate.

I should like to begin by congratulating the Empire Club on keeping its good old name in these days when people feel a sort of shyness about the use of the word 'Empire'. Whatever its associations elsewhere, the British Empire has no reason to be ashamed of its name, least of all here in Canada where the famous Durham Report, written more than a hundred years ago, opened the way to the modern conception of the Empire as an association of free nations—the Dominions equal and self-governing and the Colonies on the way to self-government and equality.

I have been trying to put some ideas together for this talk and have been up against difficulties—Toronto offers so many attractive alternatives. Through the kindness of Mr. Robert Saunders, whom you all know well, my wife and I yesterday spent a day and evening at Niagara Falls. Mr. Saunders put a car at my disposal and I can confidently confirm that not only do the Falls live up to their reputation as one of the wonders of the world, but it looks as if the Hydro-Electric Scheme was going to be another.

Perhaps I might tell you something about the office I used to hold, the Clerkship of the British House of Commons, the chief permanent office of the House under the Speaker. The efficient working of a parliament depends very largely on these two, and the relations between them are important. They need very different qualities. The Clerk has a life-long term of office in which to learn the rules and he ought to know all the answers. The Speaker, who may hold office only for a single Parliament (though in England he generally goes on for about ten years) must be dependent on the Clerk for all the complicated details and technicalities. The qualities he needs are knowledge of human nature, quickness in the uptake and fair and impartial treatment of the Government and the Opposition, the majority and the minority.

A good Speaker and Clerk should form a combination and supplement each other's deficiencies. But the rela-



October 2nd: Past President Eric F. Thompson, The President John Griffin, Past President Major James Baxter, Past President R. A. Stapells, Mr. Foster Hewitt and the Speaker A. Davidson Dunton.

tions between them often tend to be rather delicate. What the Speaker wants from the Clerk chiefly is the benefit of his experience—so much longer than his own. But some Speakers do not like to be seen consulting the Clerk too often and too openly.

When I was in Ceylon, I thought this problem was solved pretty neatly. In the Chamber at Colombo there is a little dial on the Clerk's table, screened from observation of Members. When the Speaker gets into a jam and wants to consult the Clerk, all he need do is press a button and a red light appears on the Clerk's screen. The Clerk then tactfully gets up to go out and on his way stops casually at the Speaker's chair and thus gives him the opportunity of asking the question he wants.

In the British House of Commons we are not so ingenious. The Clerk sits in front of the Speaker's chair at a distance of about six feet, and if the Speaker leans forward and the Clerk learns back it is just possible for them to communicate without being overheard by Members—but not without being observed, which makes consultation rather unsatisfactory at the best. In the published diary of one of the Speakers there is a complaint about the Clerk (who incidentally was a man of a great reputation, Sir Thomas Erskine May). The Speaker was called on suddenly for a ruling on a particularly awkward question, because if he decided one way, he would offend the Government, and if he decided the other way, he would offend the Opposition. So he leaned forward to Sir Thomas, hoping for a good answer, but all he got was 'I advise you to be cautious Mr. Speaker—very cautious'.

Parliament, as you know, is a place for debate. In London, the House of Commons is sometimes referred to as a 'talking shop' or, more picturesquely, 'the Westminister Gas Works'. One of the essential requirements of debate is that it should be free—that is, no Member should be liable to be put off saying what he really thinks by threats or bribery. Another is that it should be open; anybody should be able to come in and listen or to take a shorthand note and print what is said. Every day at breakfast time the proceedings in the House of Commons of the previous day (up to 10.30 p.m.) are published in an official booklet, called 'Hansard' after the name of the original firm of printers. One of the rules of Hansard is that it should be a faithful rendering of what was actually said. Members are allowed to make corrections of grammar, but not of substance. Not long ago a Minister who was explaining an estimate to the House, made a mistake in his figures, which involved a small enough printing correction—he added a nought and made twenty million into two hundred million. One or two Members questioned this and when he sat down he realized he had made a 'bloomer'. So he went up to the office of the Editor of Hansard and asked to make the correction. The Editor objected that he could not correct an error of substance. However, the Minister persisted. At last the Editor said casually 'You play golf, don't you?' 'Yes, I do' said the Minister, 'but what's that got to do with it?' Well you ought to know, then, that there's a rule against trying to improve the lie'. So the Minister realized he was bunkered and had to fall back on his niblick—in other words confess his error to the House.

Some Parliaments think that in these democratic days they should give extra publicity to parliamentary debates by broadcasting them as well as printing them. In Australia and New Zealand a special wave-length is reserved for debates. Australia is a very large country—by British standards—though, of course, not so large as Canada. It intrigued me when I was there to learn how broadcasting affected proceedings in the House. One very noticeable effect was caused by the two hours time difference between Canberra and Western Australia. The peak listening time is from 7 to 9. Now 7 to 9 in Perth is 9 to 11 in Canberra. So all the Perth members want to speak between 9 and 11 with the result that a debate which would normally be ended before 9 is carried on to 11 p.m. in order to give the Western Australian Members a chance of showing their form to their constituents.

Other Members occasionally use the broadcasting of speeches to save the cost of a long distance trunk call to their constituencies. One member began a speech by shouting 'Are you listening, Mr. Jones of 200 Brookfield Street, East Greenwich—if you're not, somebody please tell him. I expect those dentures to be finished this week-end—and no more bloody nonsense'. And then he went on with his speech.

Another quality of parliamentary debate is tolerance. Opinions are often sharply divided in a Chamber and members on one side have to give a fair hearing to the other side or run the risk of not getting a fair show themselves. This spreads till it becomes a point of parliamentary honour that members of the smallest, most unpopular groups should get a hearing. In parliamentary countries this attitude spreads beyond Parliament to the Press and forms a settled tradition here among the general members of the public. I recall a story,told me by Sir Arthur Salter, which happened to an American friend of his while visiting London. This friend wanted to hear the 'Marble Arch Parliament'—the open-air spouters who spout in a corner of Hyde Park to any audiences that will listen to them. As the American drove up his car, he stopped by one spouter harranguing against the Metropolitan Police. He was shounting 'Down with the brutal and corrupt Metropolitan Police'. Just at the moment he saw a police officer coming towards the man and he thought to himself 'This chap is for it, the officer will arrest him'. But instead the policeman came on towards the American and said, 'Will you kindly switch off your engine, Sir. The people can't hear what the gentleman is saying'. The American admitted this convinced him that the British really were a tolerant race.

I joined the staff of the House of Commons in 1906, which happened to coinside with a new Parliament which is generally thought to make the start of the democratic House of Commons. Before then leading Ministers had mostly been peers. The two last Prime Ministers of the 19th century were the Earl of Rosebery and the Marquis of Salisbury. The latter, whose family name was Cecil, had so many relations in the Government that an Irish wag christened the Cabinet the Hotel Cecil (after the name of the luxury hotel in the Strand). Lord Salisbury had been a formidable debater, but he became aloof in his old age and preferred his country house to Westminster. On one of his rare visits to the corridors of the House of Commons it is said that he asked a colleague he was with 'Who is that man who just passed who looked as though I should know him?' 'Well, you ought to know him' said his colleague 'seeing that you have just put him in your Cabinet'.

Lord Rosebery, the other Prime Minister I have just mentioned, was perhaps better known as a sportsman than a politician. It is told of him that, when an undergraduate, he made three bets. One was that he would win the Derby, the other that he would be Prime Minister and the third that he would marry the richest heiress in England. He won all three bets: he married a Rothschild and in the very same year he became Prime Minister he won the Derby.

Lord Rosebery was a noted wit. I will give you a sample. His daughter had recently married the Marquis of Crew, who was a Minister in many Liberal Cabinets, but a very heavy public speaker. When a friend asked Lord Rosebery when he expected to be a grandfather, he replied 'If my daughter's delivery in Crewe House is as laboured as my son-in-law's in the House of Lords I don't expect to be a grandfather—not in my life time'.

Perhaps one of the most characteristic noble politicians of that period was the Duke of Devonshire. He was of a sluggish, not to say comatose, temperament, but his honesty and judgment, once he had had time to make up his mind, were universally trusted. Once when in charge of a Bill, he opposed an amendment to leave out a clause by assuring the House that it was a most important clause, that he had forgotten the reasons why it must be kept in the Bill, but he could assure Members that if he could tell them what they were they would find them most convincing. The House unanimously rejected the amendment and kept the clause.

In his later years he found debating a bore and his speeches were apt to be punctuated with yawns. One day when the yawns had been more profuse than usual he apologized to his neighbour on the front bench by saying 'I had just been dreaming I was talking in the House of Lords and when I woke up damn me if that wasn't just what I was doing'.

Mr. Arthur Balfour, who was Lord Salisbury's nephew and succeeded him as Prime Minister, was a brilliant debater and also something of a wit. But he couldn't keep his party together and under him the Conservatives suffered their biggest defeat of the century. He acquired a quite unjustified reputation for indecision, perhaps because he was indiscreet enough to write books on philosophy, one of which was called 'A Defence of Philosophic Doubt'

As a young man it was rumoured that he was going to marry a brilliant and rather dominating young lady—Miss Margot Tennant, who afterwards married Mr. Asquith. When he was told of the rumour by a friend, he replied 'Indeed, I rather thought of having a career of my own'.

Once at a luncheon party a pushing journalist who was sitting opposite Mr. Balfour, having waited for a pause in the conversation, tried to create a sensation by asking him 'Would you not agree, Mr. Balfour, that the two great menaces of our time are Christianity and journalism? Balfour deflated him neatly by replying 'Christianity, of course, but why journalism?'

Balfour's rival as a parliamentary star—in the opposite party—was Asquith, who was head of the most brilliant Cabinet of the century (which included Lloyd George and Winston Churchill) and was perhaps the best mind of the lot. But as a war Minister in 1916 he was found deficient in energy and decision and was succeeded by Lloyd George. His favourite expression to put off inquisitive questions in the House of Commons had been 'Wait and see' and in the war this recoiled on his head like a boomerang.

Mr. Asquith had what is called a 'photographic memory'. When going down by train to meet his fiancée at a country house party, he had to wait an hour or so at a junction where there was nothing to read in the waiting-room but 'Ruff's Guide to the Turf', which he picked up and glanced through. At dinner a question arose as to the Derby winner of a particular year and to the astonishment of the company of country squires and racing men, Mr. Asquith was found to be the only man who could give the correct answer. When pressed, he was found to be able to repeat the names of the Derby winners for a hundred years back, thus winning a quite unjustified reputation as a 'good sportsman'.

Mr. Churchill, at the time of which I am speaking, was already celebrated as a stormy petrel—he just could not keep out of a fight. When he was Home Secretary in 1910 or '11, it was reported to him that the police had trapped two desperate armed criminals, one of whom was wanted for the murder of a policeman, in a house in the East End, where a regular siege was going on with shots being exchanged on both sides. So there the Home Secretary turned up, complete with top hat and frock coat, to direct the proceedings of the police from the cover of a near-by doorway. His inventive mind suggested the construction of a bullet-proof shield from steel plates collected from a near-by factory. But in the meantime the house took fire and the criminals were burned to death. The next morning his Under-Secretary, just back from leave, is said to have greeted him with 'What on earth have you been doing this time, Winston?' To which he replied "Don't be angry, Charlie. It was such fun.'

About the same time an unusually violent row took place in the House between the Liberals and the Conservative Opposition over the Irish Home Rule Bill and the disorder was so great that the Speaker had to suspend the sitting. Churchill, as usual, was the chief target for the wrath of the Conservatives, and as the Speaker left the chair, I saw one of the front bench Ulster members, Ronald McNeill, snatch up the bound volume of the rules of the House—a volume of some size and weight—snatch it up from the Table and throw it at Churchill. Whether or not it actually hit that commanding brow I was not certain. But the newspapers next day were full of the story. For years later visitors to the Chamber used to be shown a volume with a dint in it purporting to be the genuine dint made on that occasion; and the volume was carefully preserved until the destruction of the Chamber during the blitz in 1941.

This brings me back to my proper subject, the House of Commons, and by way of contrast with the pre-1914 era which I have been talking about, I will give you a sketch of what life was like in Parliament at the height of the last war.

What made the greatest difference was air raid precautions. The whole of the floor below the Chambers themselves was turned into a set of air raid shelters, and the rooms and corridors had all the windows sand-bagged and the ceilings were braced with struts of timber. This gave a somewhat delusive sense of safety, but it might have stood up against a near miss. As transport was often unattainable, those of us whose work kept them at the House all day were very glad to sleep on the premises in one of these re-inforced rooms.

As the chambers both of the Lords and the Commons had nothing between them and the sky but a thin roof, rules were made that the House of Commons should suspend its sittings when the air-raid sirens wailed. This rule was observed for a bit and then it was generally felt that this meant too much waste of time; and the rule was altered so that the Speaker did not suspend the sitting unless he got a signal that raiders were in the neighbourhood! After a while this was changed again to ‘raiders overhead’. The Lords, who, it is true, sit much shorter hours, showed their phlegm by sitting through air raids without adjourning at all.

When the Commons’ Chamber was destroyed on May 11th, 1941,—fortunately on a Saturday about midnight, when the minimum number of people were about—the House sat partly in the Lords’ Chamber and part of the time in Church House which is nearby in Westminster.

It was not till 1949 that the new Commons' Chamber, rebuilt as a replica of the old owing very largely to Mr. Churchill's conservatism, was ready for use. And the Lords, who had been sitting in one of the historic chambers of the Palace, called the 'King's Robing Room', were able to re-occupy their own Chamber. But they had been kept out for a further six months, at which some of them complained so much that officials in the Chamberlain's department had to explain that 'it took all that time for delousing'.

I spent five days a week at least in and about the House throughout the war, and I must say it was surprising how soon everybody grew accustomed to the inconveniences and the danger. The air raid siren was a depressing sound and some of the later German weapons such as the V.1 and the V.2, were particularly alarming. But we got used to the blitz more or less and even got some fun out of the unusual conditions. The clerks started making munitions in the cellars and they were soon joined by an assortment of volunteers ranging from MPs to messengers and from charwomen to Countesses—the war broke down the old barriers—until, when there were enough lathes to go round, over a hundred amateur mechanics were turning out munition components to the specification of the Admiralty and Ministry of Munitions.

Well, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, with your forbearance I have got through almost all I had to say. I thank you very much for your kindness in listening to me and I feel I ought to apologize for not having given you something better for after-luncheon digestion than these random reminiscences.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. Roderick Lewis, Assistant Clerk of the Ontario Legislature.

"CANADA AND TELEVISION"

An Address by

A. DAVIDSON DUNTON
Chairman of the Board of Governors, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation

Thursday, October 2nd, 1952

CHAIRMAN: The President, Mr. John W. Griffin.

MR. GRIFFIN: Members and Guests of The Empire Club of Canada: It is with a great deal of pride that I declare open the fiftieth regular season of the Empire Club. I feel it is particularly appropriate that we should inaugurate our second half century with an address about one of the marvels of our age—television—undreamed of when this Club was founded.

Our speaker today, in his official capacity as Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, is the one best qualified to tell us about the relationship of television to Canada. Mr. A. Davidson Dunton, born in Montreal in 1912, has had a remarkable and meteoric career. While he attended no less than four great Universities he found it possible to become Editor of the Montreal "Standard" at the age of twenty-six when many men are just leaving university. After service with the Wartime Information Board and a brief further period with the "Standard" he was appointed Chairman of the Board of Governors of the C.B.C. in 1945—a post he has held since that time. In this position he is responsible for the successful introduction of television into Canada just one month ago.

We are proud to entertain so distinguished a public servant.

MR. A. DAVIDSON DUNTON: Madam, Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen:—

In my job, as you can perhaps imagine, I meet a great many people who have television on their minds; in fact, almost everybody I come across in trains, street cars, at afternoon teas, and other places, seems to get the word "television" into the first sentence of conversation.

The things they say differ a good deal, although they seem to follow into one, two or three categories. First, some say, "When do we get it? We want it." They don't usually say, "What is it going to be like," or discuss what this thing is going to bring into their homes: they just say, "We want it."

Then there are those other people, often people who have been lucky enough to have some of the higher forms of education, and they say, "What do you mean, bringing television into the country? What is it going to do to our children?"

Then there are also the people who say, "Look what television is doing to children! Look what it is doing to children in the United States! What is it is going to do to children in Canada?"

As you see, the views of most people seem to be strongly personal views. They are usually fairly vigorous one way or another, regarding programs both in the United States and Canada. And views of members of the public are very important, they are important to us as a broadcasting organization because we have to try and serve the potential viewers of Canada.

Today I don't want to try to talk about television from your personal point of view, or that of your family, or from the point of view of Mr. Mutrie and his young people on Jarvis Street who are working long, long hours producing television programs. I do want to try and talk about what it will mean to all of us in this room, as Canadians: in fact, what it will mean, should or could mean, to all Canadians, every place. I want to try to talk about the things that I think we all should be thinking about in relation to television, no matter what our particular personal views may be at the moment.

Some people say, "Television has done such awful things in other countries." There is, of course, no reason why television must be the same in Canada as in other countries. There are a good many things in Canada that are different to those of other countries.

I think there is one thing we can do right away, and that is to drop the idea that television is not important. There are some people who still regard it as a kind of domestic peep show, something that comes into the house and is amusing or not, according to one's taste; that anyone can take or leave; something like the movies in their early days. I suggest it is wise to disabuse ourselves of any notion like that, simply because television has already proven itself as an extremely effective means of mass communication, of communicating to hundreds and thousands and millions of people at a time. That has already been proved by what is happening in other countries, the United States, Britain and others nations.

We can all agree right away that it is a very effective means of communication. It brings sound, it brings sight, it brings motion; and any psychologist will agree when you have that, you are making about as direct and formidable an assault on the human as you can. The only thing we have lacked up to now is colour, and that will be coming. And all these things come right into people's houses. Obviously it has a very strong appeal as a means of communicating things—it has to a very large majority of people. What is more, it has an enormous vividness and effectiveness of impact. It makes a strong impression on people's minds. You can see that by watching children's faces in a room in which there is a television set operating. The children stay fascinated for long periods of time. The material on the screen, whatever it may be, is making a very vivid impression on their minds.

Whatever anybody's personal tastes may be, we can be sure of one thing: that increasing hundreds of thousands of homes will have television sets; that the sets are going to be watched; and that what those families are seeing is bound to have a strong influence on how the ideas of those families develop. I think we can take it for granted that television is going to be a very strong social force. It is going to have a strong effect one way or the other on the development of our national life. I suggest to you the way television develops—what is on that screen—what is available to see—is going to make a considerable difference on what Canada is like twenty or thirty or forty years from now. I don't mean what it is like physically, but what young Canadians are thinking about, what their concepts of life are, and what their standards of value are. It will make a considerable difference in those things that go to make up a nation.

I think we will all agree that a nation is not just a matter of geography or statistics. I like the definition of a nation as "A group of people who think they are a nation". In other words, a nation exists because a group of people living in a certain area of the world develop common attitudes and thoughts.

I think a historian observing from another planet might very well think it is rather an anomaly that Canada exists at all. I think some of us have the same idea ourselves. Canada is an arbitrary slice taken off the top of the North American continent. For historical reasons, reasons of tradition and interests, we, this fourteen million odd people of Canada, have chosen to make a nation of the people living in this slice of the continent, in spite of the fact that many of the influences of geography and economics are against Canada being a separate nation. Most of the means of communication are north and south. In most regions of Canada it is easier to communicate with the United States than with other parts of Canada. Most Canadians have more Americans than Canadians living within 200 miles around them, and it is easier to communicate with these Americans than with their follow Canadians east and west.

It costs money to keep a Canadian nation operating, yet somehow we have made the actual practical decisions we have just thought necessary to do it. We still think it is a good thing that there be this Canadian national entity, and that it develop in its own way. I don't think we should develop *against* anyone else, but that our nation should develop *for* the things which it can do and which it stands for: for the old ties and traditions which it has maintained across the Atlantic, developed in the North American environment differently than among our friends to the south of us.

If the things of the mind are so important to the development of a nation, it behooves us to take careful thought about the development of things that affect Canadians' minds and their growth. In our history as a nation we have in many, many instances had to make practical concrete decisions to see that our national life, our national organization developed. We took the early political steps, of course. Further than that, we have had to do practical things that cost money. We have had to subsidize the building of transcontinental communications to hold together the colonies that were to become Canada. We wanted to see many industries develop here, and we have had to employ tariffs. The result is we pay more for our shirts and for our automobiles, because we wish to have in Canada a shirt and an automobile industry. We pay a good deal more for our radio and television sets, because we have felt it important to our national life to have an electronics industry.

But if it is well to encourage these physical means of production in the country, is it perhaps not still more important that we too give thought to the production and activity of the things of the mind? And in television, it would not be just enough to say that this new marvel exists; that we can have television stations since there are channels that can be used, and that therefore we should have a system of communication among Canadians. There is more to think about. As a people we have not only to think of a desire we may have, but of the hard economic facts that must lie behind any development.

As business men, I am sure many people in this room know only too well how costs vary in different markets.

We know in the United States many things can be produced more cheaply because of the immense size of the national market. Here (although we are improving in many ways) the cost of production in many things is higher because of the smaller population. But in many cases we think we ought to encourage that to give a chance to Canadian production.

In a thing like television, economic factors work even more sharply. Take a television program, which you know is a pretty complicated piece of work. In the United States the cost of that product can be spread over that immense population and the cost per head works out relatively small. In Canada at the best the cost of such a product has to be spread over a much smaller number of people, and the cost per head must be a good deal larger, on any basis.

Again, take the cost of distribution. In the United States one small collection of stations can reach far more people than in Canada; one station from New York City can serve a population as large as the whole population of Canada. If we want to have a television system reach the large portion of our people it is obviously going to cost a great deal more per head.

Therefore we have, in deciding what we want in Canada, to have these cost factors in mind. I suggest to you it is very important to think of these practical things in a cool, calculating way if we are determined, as we seem to be determined in this country, to keep our country going ahead under its own steam as a real national entity.

Television, as I say, is an extremely effective means of communication. It could operate relatively cheaply in Canada if it were largely a means of bringing in material outside of Canada. If television broadcasting followed the ordinary dictates of a straight commercial arithmetic, that is how it would develop—as a series of pipe lines bringing largely non-Canadian material into Canadian homes. That is the cheapest way from a commercial point of view for it to develop.

We should remember we have not very many means of national communication in Canada. We have our daily press our periodicals and a few other means. Far many more periodicals from outside Canada are read by Canadians than periodicals produced in Canada. Is it not important that in this strikingly new extremely effective field, we both have chances for Canadian production, and chances for the development of communication among Canadians? Because of the way economics work, because of the fact that on a purely commercial operating basis, Canadian television would tend to broadcast mostly non-Canadian material, the only solution seems to be to take some steps, as we have taken in other fields, to see that there are other means of paying for and supporting Canadian television and for the production of Canadian television programmes and distribution of them around the country, by means apart from those of ordinary commercial operations.

The solution that has been found in sound broadcasting, and that is being applied in television broadcasting, is the setting up of a publicly-owned system. This becomes chiefly a device by which the people of Canada who benefit pay in another way, or pay a supplementary amount, to ensure that the system has the possibility of Canadian production, and distribution. That has been the role of the CBC in sound broadcasting. The basic decisions have been made in television broadcasting toward a system which can have the means of drawing financial support from other than straight commercial channels, and which shall have the means of developing Canadian production and distribution of Canadian programmes.

The CBC has been commissioned to start the Canadian television system. We have established production centres in Montreal and Toronto. These are more than just stations for these areas. They are centres at which, we hope and expect, Canadian programmes can be produced which will be seen locally first and which later will be seen in other parts of Canada as well. We have been lent money to start,—eight million dollars so far, and we shall have to have more to get going well.

I would like to point out the government of this country does not run the CBC. The CBC operates under an Act, but it is not as all-powerful as people sometimes suggest. Nobody can tell us what to do in our operations, that is, what we put on the air. The Government has the final say of the licensing of stations. Parliament has the final say in the general picture and structure of broadcasting in Canada.

The start has been made. Canadian television is now 3½ weeks old. I am not going to try and comment on what it has done so far, and on what it has not done. Those of you who have television sets can tell for yourselves a good deal better. I do suggest much has been accomplished, and, I hope, you will agree when you consider what has had to be done.

Television, as I am sure you all know, is an extremely complicated, integrated, obstinate kind of operation, in which great skill and ingenuity of operation are needed. Groups of young Canadians in Montreal and Toronto have taught themselves to operate television and produce programmes. We were told we would have to have people from outside Canada. We have had a look at other countries, and learned a great deal from them for which we are grateful, but it is the young Canadians who have taught themselves how to carry on this complicated operation who are now producing full-fledged television programmes. And I would suggest to you some of those efforts are not bad at all.

Where do we go from here?

First, I should say that the CBC has said publicly that it wants to establish stations as soon as possible in other areas toward the development of a national system. The Government has said it will ask Parliament to lend us money to establish stations on the Pacific Coast, the Prairie Provinces, the Ottawa area, and the Atlantic Coast. We know there will be one station in the Pacific area, one in the Winnipeg area, no final decision has been made on location of the Atlantic station. The station in Ottawa will likely be the first on the air. As you know, we have ordered from Mr. Watson and his Bell Telephone people the network connection between Montreal and Toronto which will be ready next spring. Ottawa will be tied into that network connection. The other stations in the country will have to be fed for some time at least with transcriptions of programmes, with some local production at each point. That is as far as we can see ahead definitely now. As I say, the CBC does not, and cannot, on its own responsibility make a number of other decisions. It can recommend and have plans and visions ahead. We have plans which we hope to carry out for other stations which would in effect make a good strong national framework of publicly-owned stations in Canada and which would assure that there will be a Canadian system strong enough to carry on Canadian production and strong enough to be the framework for over-all distribution of national Canadian television service. Fitting into that system as part of it, are private stations,—private stations helping to extend national service, having programmes of their own, but also having a number of programmes of the national service.

Looking farther ahead, we see a vision that is not too precise but which we think can be carried out in general. It is a vision of television in Canada serving a large majority of Canadians, with the number not served diminishing continually; a service that is basically Canadian, based on Canadian ideas, but because Canadians are interested in material from other countries, bringing in programmes from those countries; a service that brings in lots of entertainment and fun to Canadians, things of interest and excitement, sport and other things, but that, while it entertains, also brings things of deeper values,—some knowledge and information, that helps Canadians in one part of the country to understand Canadians in other parts of the country; a service that brings things of spiritual value as well as entertainment value, and the sort of thing that will help young Canadians to have wider understanding; a service that will give them lots of relaxation and fun but will also give them deeper insights into life, our country and the world; a service that will be operated under the principles of freedom under which we live in this country, which means that people should have a good choice of material of all kinds and different values, to decide what they want themselves, and what they choose to add to the things that are in their minds.

We hope that all these things will develop in Canada. We are convinced they can be done because of Canadian ability, because of the human resources of Canada, because there are in Canada the people that are needed to contribute to the development of such a system.

We are sure that it can be done. Gentlemen those are the directions in which Canadian television is now going.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. C. E. Watson.

"UNION OR HARMONY"

An Address by

PERCY JAMES PHILIP
Ottawa Correspondent, The New York Times

Thursday, October 9th, 1952

CHAIRMAN: The President, Mr. John W. Griffin.

MR. GRIFFIN: Members and Guests of the Empire Club of Canada: Our speaker today is an old friend of this Club. We are very happy to welcome Mr. Percy J. Philip, Ottawa Correspondent of "The New York Times" for the latest of his memorable appearances on our platform. Mr. Philip represented his great newspaper in Paris, France for twenty-one years and for the last twelve years has held his present post. He is well known to us as a stout-hearted defender of the imperial ideal and a leading apologist for the Pax Britannica as we knew it in the last century. The wisdom of his speech to this club last year, entitled "Lets return to Diplomacy" is apparent to all who heard it and have gone on to observe the dogmatic statements and election-minded posturings in which so many statesmen indulge. It is a great honour to present Mr. Philip to you again.

MR. PHILIP: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen—It is not only a great pleasure and encouragement to be invited each year to address you, it is also, I find, extremely good for me.

In my job as a reporter I have to listen to and read a great many speeches which are mainly characterized by their singular lack of originality of thought and expression and I am always afraid that I may lapse into the same doddering routine—like an old gramaphone record. But I would never dare do that before the members of the Empire Club. Your standards are too high and your invitation comes to me always as a kind of challenge. I feel that you are paying me the compliment of wanting to know what *I* think, and the more independent my comment on world events the better you seem to like it.

You know that I have no axe to grind, no special cause to plead and that I serve no party. As a Scotsman who lived in England and France, has worked over thirty years for an American newspaper and is now not only a large Canadian tax-payer but a small Canadian land owner I have even no strong nationalistic preferences. Perhaps I have seen at too close quarters the weaknesses of all my countries and the tragic errors of all their governments, to believe that any one nation or any government, can have a monopoly of wisdom and righteousness. Each may be right sometimes but it is very certain that none are right always and for that reason it is the duty of every citizen to hold vigilantly to his personal integrity and his right to criticise and even, if necessary, to rebel.

It is, I am sure, because I feel that way that I find myself so much at home among you. Yours is not a club of young men with illusions or of partisans with special interests, but of mature men with experience. You are immune to emotional propaganda and, I have found, respectful of ideas with which you may disagree as long as these are honestly held and fairly presented.

So in a world which is extremely confused and confusing, in which every country is uneasy and the leaders of the greatest democracy among us are indulging in a disconserting electoral orgy of accusations and oratorical insults, I have chosen to continue to speak to you today quietly and realistically, in the way you seem to like, and to present to you my reasons for thinking that although the situation is grave there is still time to prevent it becoming catastrophic.

I have chosen for my title "Union or Harmony." "It sounds innocent enough and a lot of loose thinking people will say, "Well what about it? Are they not the same thing." I submit to you that in human experience they certainly are not. There is just the same difference between them as between marriage and love. Of course, these two can, and fortunately often do, exist together. But they are not the same thing. Marriage is a social and legal arrangement. Love, whether it be between man and woman, or between friends, or between members of the same family is a thousand other things. But whatever it is it binds people together far more closely than priest or registrar or treaty or any written contract.

And if love ends, as it does, it usually happens privately. Each if they are civilised people, goes her or his own way sadly perhaps but without public scandal. When marriages break up in divorce there is argument, public quarrelling and usually a disgraceful display of human frailty.

It is much the same when other unions, whether they are political, national or international or ordinary business unions with legal existence come to the end of that harmony, mutual regard and sympathy which binds their members.

To my mind, on reflection therefore, it seems that harmony, which is of the spirit, is greater than union and it is that thesis that I present to you.

What I have to say, I think, follows logically from the last three addresses which I have made here on "The World Without the Empire", "Cross Roads", and "The Road Before Us".

In these I sketched the situation which the war and the break up of the Empire had left and the various efforts which were being made to do the job the Empire had done throughout the 19th Century of keeping order enough to permit the trading vessels of all the nations to sail on their lawful occasions carrying their goods across the seas, to permit new nations to grow and develop in freedom, as was certainly the case on this continent, and to allow men to think, speak and write freely under the protection of the law and an unarmed English policeman.

With all that freedom to trade, to grow, to talk being fully exploited as it was, I do not think that we can say that that world of the 19th century was a united world. But it was amazingly harmonious.

For its destruction the Germans, who have been great believers in Union since Bismark welded all their kingdoms and principalities into a single nation were primarily responsible. They wanted efficiency they said but that, of course, was only another way of saying that they wanted things done the German way—somewhat in the barrack square manner.

We twice beat that German effort to make an orderly tightly organised world, but alas we did not defeat the idea and since the last war we have been told, almost deafeningly, that our only hope of survival lies in Union. The British conception of peace by harmony has been forgotten.

But let us look a little closer into how Unions work.

I can fully understand the American faith in the Union formula. Their own great nation was built out of the union of the original thirteen British colonies in spite of a lot of reluctance and even resistance at the beginning. It was preserved by the victory of one side in a bitter civil war which at least in the north, is more regarded as the beginning of the prodigious rise of the country to wealth and power than as a disaster in which many even greater values may have been lost.

Basicly the war was, of course, caused by some members of the Union insisting that others members of the Union should alter their practises and conform to a general rule. In the United Kingdom we had a similar experience when a few bigoted people in England wanted to make us good Presbyterian Scots into Episcopalians.

We will not go into the merits of either case but merely point to this common experience that in both the Unions of the United States and the United Kingdom, excellent though they were, there quickly developed a tendency for some of the partners to try to coerce the others, even to the extent of making war against them.

That experience is worth keeping in mind at this time when there is so much high-pressure propaganda in favour of Unions of all kinds.

There is another small but significant disadvantage especially for Canadians to the union of peoples in a single entity which came to my notice recently when there was a meeting in Ottawa of supporters of the Atlantic Union idea of my old friend Clarence Streit. I am sure it is a perfectly defendable idea, but it just happened that among the American delegates was a member of Congress, from Illinois I think, who had a French name. But when I introduced him to Mr. Lionel Chevrier our very courteous and, of course bilingual Minister of Transport, I discovered that my American with a very French name did not speak a single word of French. It was too good an opportunity for me to miss and I could not resist explaining mischievously that the racial harmony which exists in Canada and allows two cultures and two languages, and even two ideas about how taxes should be collected, to exist and flourish side by side might prove a richer civilisation then the standarised outcome of any political union.

As some people have difficulty in accepting the word Dominion as a distinctive part of the name of your country, and you are certainly not a Union, I think I might venture to suggest that you might call your country "The Harmony of Canada". It might stimulate your own people to set a new pattern and good example for others to imitate.

I have already referred to the union of the German countries by Bismarck and all the calamities which have followed as one of the dangers of the kind of union which creates too strong a unit especially when it is under the domination of a single member of the union as Germany has been under the domination of Prussia.

And there is another Union which has grown rank and dangerous, the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. Quietly, far removed from interference and even observation Imperial Russia during the last century expanded her rule over the independent central Asian countries amid the general approval of a great many people in other lands who felt that Russian rule would improve conditions in these largely Moslem and allegedly backward but very ancient mountain states. Only the Germans and a few British officials and soldiers gave any thought to the inevitable danger of an excessive Russian expansion. The rest of the world kept on saying that Union was a good thing.

But now we are keenly and fearfully aware of the terrible strength that union has given to the central authority in Moscow. It has under its command fifteen or more armies of different races and can use any one of them against another, if need be, to check revolt. In a general war such as the last it has command of fighting men of first rate quality and many races, all of them expendable if need be by a government which has shown both in war and peace that individual lives and even racial communities count for nothing as long as they, the masters, remain victorious. In Moscow they talk glibly about freedom for the other Asian and African peoples from British and French "domination" but during these past thirty years the sovietization of the Central Asian peoples has been carried on by execution, wholesale banishment into other parts, and the suppression of all liberty of thought and speech which has set a new world mark in tyranny. It is an outstanding demonstration that union is a mistake if it places too much power in the hands of a central government. Men are never to be trusted with uncontrolled authority.

But some will say, the United Nations and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation are not like those of Germany and Russia. We are voluntary members of these associations for mutual defense against aggression and in them we retain our independence and freedom of action.

I do not wish to appear to be one of those who have been recently accused of seeking to diminish either UNO or NATO. But surely we can indulge in some of the freedom of criticism which is characterising the United States election speeches and mildly indicate some past mistakes and present tendencies.

For instance I can never give my confidence again to those alleged world leaders who pressed for the inclusion of Russia in the United Nations Club and with the power of veto. Only a very little common sense and experience were needed to show that there could be no harmony in that Union. It would have been better for all of us if the anti-Red hysteria which now stirs the United States had begun earlier, been less violent and somewhat more intelligent. As it is, the United Nations Assembly which is due to meet next week in New York threatens to produce a new series of disturbances to all our nerves which can be extremely dangerous. I do not envy our friend, Mike Pearson, his task of presiding if he should be elected to that office.

Let us be frank about it, the Union for Unions sake of the United Nations has proved a mistake and may become a menace. Unless it can get more harmony into debates and decisions its end will be even more inglorious that was that of its predecessor the Wilsonian League of Nations.

For NATO I incline to be more indulgent. It was in large measure thrust upon us by the stark reality of our unpreparedness for defense. Also I am glad to find there has been much greater harmony, even cordiality, among its members than among those of the larger Union.

But, gentlemen, you know how delicate human relations always are. In the early days of the Empire the British learned at the cost of the loss of the American colonies that they could not demand, much less impose, the co-operation of the colonists even in matters of mutual defense. Here in Canada you profited long and skilfully from the fact that London had learned that lesson.

You were loyal members of the Empire, but the Empire was not a Union in which every member was bound to contribute to the defence of the other members. I cannot remember Canada contributing any ships to the Royal Navy in peace-time. Yet the unstrained harmony of peace-time proved stronger than any Union in war—even to the point that some have come to consider that the Canadian tenor carried the whole opera, with England in the role of light soprano.

In that same spirit you have gone vigorously, almost unquestioningly, into this business of making NATO an effective barrier against Communist aggression. You are spending unprecedented sums of money in defence preparation, expanding your navy and airforce, and, for the first time in your history, stationing troops at danger points abroad.

Luckily until now you have been able to afford it. That always makes a difference in one's outlook. But, over in Europe it has not been so easy for some countries to meet the demands made on them in the name of mutual defence. The idea of a contributing union is too new to many of them. They have been accustomed, through long and honourable histories, to planning their own defence needs according to their own estimate of the danger and their financial ability. Many of them learned, too, in the old days of international harmony to depend on other things than guns and bombs, and allies, for the preservation of peace and independence. We did not then live all the time in an atmosphere of war.

Among these peoples, who are adult and of strong character, there has developed a tendency to resent being told by an international committee of military and other experts how much they should contribute to mutual defence. They resent it more when foreign generals and even colonels give interviews in the press and issue statements saying that these countries are not providing enough divisions and that the troops are not sufficiently trained.

The Boston tea party happened a long time ago but the mistakes of experience, arrogance, and impatience which caused it do not seem to have perished from the earth—they have only shifted their geographical position.

It may be just coincidence that the pressure which has been put from outside on these western European countries to rearm has seemed to stimulate the formation of a western European association from which both Russia and the United States would be excluded. One of the stumbling blocks is, as you know, that most of them want the United Kingdom to come with them and the British government is reluctant to commit the nation to anything which excludes the Commonwealth countries. The British do not lightly make new associations or forget old friends.

If it is ever successfully formed and becomes operative this Western European Union could, and I think would, become the pivot of the whole world, for neither Russia nor the Americas, nor all Asia have such a solidly founded civilisation as are to be found along the banks of the Rhine.

The men who are dreaming of and working for this new association of old rivals are not trying to get it all fixed up quickly. They know that there must be harmony first before any worth-while Union can be made.

Perhaps it will take too long and not be given time to mature. Atom bombs explode easily in the hands of those who put their faith in them. If that should happen then I fear we shall have a new world such as there was when the Roman Empire collapsed. Men call it the Dark Ages.

But as long as there is hope, and I cling to it, that harmony and not constraint will be the cement of our Unions, and that nationally and individually we shall remain free men, then I have no fear of either the ideas or the barbaric hordes of the men of Moscow.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Major Gladstone Murray.

"GOOD HEALTH IS GOOD BUSINESS"

An Address by

LEROY A. LINCOLN

Chairman of the Board of Directors, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, New York, N.Y.

Thursday, October 16th, 1952

CHAIRMAN: The President, Mr. John W. Griffin.

MR. GRIFFIN: Members and Guests of the Empire Club of Canada: Since we sat down to lunch less than an hour ago the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company has written over 1,200 new policies and thereby made a substantial addition to its all-but-incredible total of 33½ million policy holders—of whom 2,500,00 are Canadians. Founded in 1868, in New York, this firm built its business on so-called industrial insurance—"protection for the masses" on a weekly premium basis. While the great rise in workmen's earnings in recent years has reduced the importance of this type of insurance it still accounts for a large percentage of Metropolitan's income.

Everything one says about this company must be in superlatives. It has the greatest assets of any American corporation—according to The Wall Street Journal it could buy out U.S. Steel, General Motors and DuPont and still have $2 billion left. It is the largest private landlord in the world with 36,000 families living in its eight huge apartment communities. It lends money by the millions for capital works of all kinds and lesser sums to small businessmen through their local banks.

The greatest problem facing this commercial giant is how to invest the income produced by its sales force of 21,000 agents and by its billions of invested capital.

At the head of this great organisation, which stands first in America in its field, is our speaker today. Mr. Leroy A. Lincoln, a lawyer by profession, began his connection with the Metropolitan in 1918 and after fifteen years as president became Chairman of the Board at the beginning of last year. A director of many firms bearing such household names as Chase National Bank, the Home Insurance Company and the Union Pacific Railroad, he has found time to take an active part in Red Cross work and is National Chairman for the United States Red Cross campaign for 1953.

It is a great pleasure to present him to you today.

MR. LEROY LINCOLN: Thank you, Mr. President, particularly on behalf of the largest insurance company which you have been good enough to mention.

When I was invited to make this talk I cast about for something to say. That is one of the hardest things in my life anyway, and in this instance everybody immediately began to send me a lot of literature and manuscripts and things about Canada. It soon occurred to me that that was perhaps one thing you knew more about than I did. So I thought I would not indulge in any discussion on Canada: I would not even bring in a line about the "3,000 miles of undefended border". That is not quite true. I had occasion some two or three years ago to go to your neighbouring city of London. I left New York in the evening and was due in London some time in the morning, but in spite of your "undefended border" at two o'clock in the morning two of your blue-uniformed officials woke me and had an interview with me. So I say it is not entirely undefended. Canada was on guard against that particular invasion. But it is still a cliché. I have heard a great many times, from the Canadian side, about the "great giant to the south". Well now that great giant to the south is beginning to feel kind of small. Lately, when I come to think about currency and the boom, I am not so sure which side the giant is living on right now.

I have got some material here that is prepared and printed, of which you probably have a copy, so you won't need to bother listening to me. If you haven't a copy, just drop me a line and I will send you one.

I begin these remarks in print by saying that this invitation brings to mind the fact that I spent the earlier part of my career in the neighbouring City of Buffalo. At Fort Erie in my day there was an institution which devoted itself to an observation of horses, and these horses, of course, encouraged a good deal of discussion among the people who attended the gatherings. The institution was called the Fort Erie Race Tracks. I very soon learned that was no place for me, so that from that early day of my career to this, I have avoided the race tracks.

Over on our side of the border we are now entering on the quadrennial contest for the political control of our National government by one of our political parties. My friends here to my right and left have been cross-examining me about the results. I can't possibly tell you. But I can tell you we, the Republicans, are not nearly so smug about this thing as we were four years ago.

Just the other day I saw that some of our leading statesmen, this time of the Democratic persuasion, paid a visit to the birthplace of Abraham Lincoln, who, of course, was the patron saint and father of the Republican party. These statesmen said they would like to know, if Abraham Lincoln were in the world today, what he would think now about the Republican party. Well I would like to add to that, if the same Abraham Lincoln were here today, what would he think about the Government of the United States—and I am not making a political speech. I don't want these remarks to be taken in any partisan sense, and I do not want the Consul General to report back to Washington and get me into trouble, because I am connected with the big Company described. Mr. Haering, you told me your hearing was not very good when such things were discussed.

I do believe a lot of us are thinking about a situation which exists nowadays in our country and perhaps in yours, namely—the desire to have what is called "big government" and to have the central government embrace the handling of affairs in the municipalities and communities. I, for one, believe that the less government we have from the centre location,—in our case Washington—the better. I don't believe the tendency for central government should be encouraged. The Government should not undertake to be an all-wise administrator and provider but we have, and perhaps you have, a school of thought which believes in the transfer of power from the municipalities to the central government. I don't want to discuss this any more, although I would be glad to discuss it with my friends here, if they want to debate the subject.

We use a term in the United States to describe the ambitions of one school of thought, namely "The Welfare State." There is much to be said for "welfare", but the real question is, "How much of this welfare is to be had at the hands of the State, and how much is to be had outside the purview of the government, as such."

I, for one, am of the school of thought which would limit the unwarranted expansion of governmental activity in these directions, and *per contra*, would expand the sense of responsibility of the individual citizen, of local welfare organisations, and of private business in ways that are appropriate for the development of such services.

I can illustrate what I have in mind with reference to the part that business can play, out of my own experience. It has been my good fortune throughout a considerable part of my business life, to be associated with an activity which is looked upon as a business which plays a large part in what it believes to be a realm of "welfare". I refer, of course, to the business of life insurance, which has numerous facets, and which, in its larger analysis, lends itself very little, comparatively, to exploitation for private purposes. And I think that is quite a true statement, that life insurance as such is not a very good subject for exploitation for private purposes. It may be that life insurance as an institution does occasionally afford opportunity for private gain; but, generally speaking, and in its acceptance by the public, whether in the United States or Canada, it is, I maintain, a welfare institution in the sense that it enables people to make provision for their own welfare and that of their families.

I want to pass over the strictly economic aspects of life insurance, in the sense of financial protection and security and in the sense of a reservoir of funds collected from innumerable small sources and available for usefulness on a large scale. In passing, I am proud to call your attention to the fact that life insurance companies in our country are to be found working side by side with your own great life insurance companies in affording, by way of investments on behalf of their policyholders, extremely large sums of money for the development of your growing institutions.

But I think there is a phase of the contribution of life insurance to "welfare" which may be more or less taken for granted, but which is of extreme importance. Life insurance has no monopoly of contribution toward the improvement of public health and the extension of years of life in our two countries. It does, however, claim a real part in the extension of longevity, alongside the work of other organisations and of public health authorities, as such. Life insurance keeps the figures, and its statisticians will tell us with real conviction just what the improvements have been.

Down through the ages the prospect of life at birth has increased from period to period, but it has been most striking in the past 40 years, particularly in the United States and Canada. As a corollary to the insurance side of this business, life insurance is greatly concerned with sickness, accidents, and mortality. These concern everyone, whether in the life insurance business or not, because the state of the public health will determine the productive capacity of the population and its bearing on the national economy. That is the reason I selected the title you will find on the printed copy of this speech, "Good

IPIRE CLUB
OF
CANADA

October 23rd: A section of the Head Table at the Carlos Romulo meeting.

Health is Good Business". Public health is basic in any consideration of public welfare.

Our two countries stand side by side and pretty much at the forefront of the civilised world in matters pertaining to public health. Disease and pestilence have no national considerations. I repeat that because I don't think we always remember it, *that disease and pestilence have no home of their own*, they can cross *the boundaries, back and forth.* And that is perhaps why those officers interfered with me when I came across at two o'clock in the morning.

In the United States and Canada the expectation of life at birth is now more than 68 years. Only a half century ago the expectation of life in the United States was something less than 49 years, and probably in Canada it was hardly that. There has, therefore, been a gain of about 20 years in the course of the last half century, which has resulted from a reduction in the over-all mortality of close to one half.

Firty years ago infant mortality was a tremendous source of waste in the population. Some of us can remember the horrors of the outbreak of communicable diseases of childhood in our localities. Measles, scarlet fever, whooping cough, and particularly diphtheria could frighten whole communities. There has been an extraordinary transformation. The annual toll of infant mortality has been reduced from 15 percent to 3 percent. Those communicable diseases of childhood are no longer a serious factor in mortality. Most dramatic has been the story of diphtheria, which, in my childhood days, wiped out more than one of my playmates and was a striking cause of death throughout our two countries. Today it is almost non-existent as a factor in mortality. The same may be said, broadly speaking, for those other childhood diseases.

Typhoid fever took a heavy toll of life during each spring and summer. Today, in spite of an occasional slight outbreak, it is said to be almost altogether a disease of the past. We are told that many a medical student goes through his four years of professional training without seeing a single case of this disease in the hospital where he is studying.

Pneumonia is another example—a disease whose rate of mortality has been drastically reduced in the last ten or fifteen years, through the use of antibiotics. Again, there is tuberculosis. In the last fifty years the rate from this disease has been reduced by better than 90 percent, and this progress has been accelerated during the last five years.

While speaking on this topic from the point of view of life insurance, I pay my respects to public health organisations. Fifty years ago public health activities were grossly inadequate. In the last fifty years there have been great improvements in fundamental public health laws and in the creation of the public health profession in which Canada has played its important part.

As respects Canada, and as an outstanding example, I want particularly to refer to conditions which, a number of years ago, existed in the Province of Quebec respecting child health. Through the intervention of life insurance, a demonstration was established in the Town of Thetford Mines where, in the course of three years, infant mortality was reduced by 68 percent. After this demonstration, your leaders took up the challenge against sickness and premature deaths in such cities as Montreal, and large appropriations were made to combat not only the diseases of children, but also to stem the tide of such other diseases as tuberculosis and typhoid fever.

It was in those days, too, that the Canadian authorities began to consider seriously the importance of setting up adequate public health administration units with full-time, well-trained health officers and the necessary sanitation personnel and public health nurses. We, on our side of the border, have watched this development with much pride and satisfaction. In this field you have gone faster and farther than we have in the States.

What has been accomplished in the Province of Quebec furnishes a good example. Twenty-five years ago the death rate among our industrial policyholders in that Province was almost twice that for the rest of Canada.

Now the mortality for the two is practically the same. In 1926 deaths from the diarrheal diseases in Quebec outnumbered those for any other disease. Now they are a relatively minor cause of death—a major public health triumph. Tuberculosis, which ranked second, has decreased by more than 80 percent and the communicable diseases of childhood by 98 percent.

The developments in Public Health have had very definite consequences which many of us in business do not always realize. The saving of lives, particularly of young people, has significant economic and social benefits. Canada, even more than the United States, is a rapidly growing country. Your population is expanding, and there is room for a very great increase in the coming decades. The prevention of diseases and the reduction in mortality add materially to the great productive resources of the country. Again I refer to my title, "GOOD HEALTH IS GOOD BUSINESS". The saving of 50 percent in the current mortality over that at the turn of the century means an annual saving of some 125,000 lives in Canada alone. At the same time, the duration of the working-life span has materially increased. In the early decades of the century the working life of large numbers of men was brought to an early end when they came down with tuberculosis in their 20's or 30's. Today this disease is a relatively minor factor in the mortality of Canada, and so it is with a whole list of diseases and conditions which today are very much under control. In this way the national economy is well served. I am trying to make the point that good health and prolongation of life enhances the productive capacity of the country.

I am also very much impressed with the effect which all these developments have had on family life. At no time in the past has the family been as secure as it is today. Young people who marry can look forward to living together and raising their families without the distressing fears of the families being broken up by the premature death of the father or the mother.

Our communities, too, have gained immeasurably, for they have been relieved of the heavy burden of supporting large numbers of indigent widows and orphans. Under current mortality conditions, the number of families broken in the course of a year by the death of husband or wife is actually one-third less than would have been broken under conditions of only 50 years ago. Due to the marked improvement in mortality at the child-rearing ages, the incidence of orphanhood has been reduced by an even larger proportion. Immeasurable are the gains in mental and spiritual health in a generation of young people who have been brought up under the guidance of both parents. One cannot exaggerate the blessings of the health developments which have taken place.

The greatest progress in reducing mortality has been made at the younger ages, as a result of which more are surviving to the older ages, to swell, in due time, the ranks of those 65 and over. And that brings up another question which I shall deal with later. This is actually what has happened. In our country the proportion of those 65 years of age and over has doubled since the beginning of the century, and their absolute number has quadrupled. The situation is more acute in the United States that it is in Canada, but you will feel the impact of your old-age problem soon enough, and it would be well to keep it in mind and to prepare for it.

There are many difficulties that confront older people. The economic problem is paramount. A large majority of those who reach these advanced ages are not able, for one reason or another, to maintain themselves. In your country and in ours, provision has recently been made in the form of social security legislation which provides something of a floor toward the maintenance of such older folks, but in the last analysis, the aged and the dependent must generally be taken care of whether through government or private channels by those who are productively employed. And I want to repeat that, because we have to have in mind that this increase in the number and percentage of those more advanced ages, forces a greater burden on those who are productively employed.

In the past this burden of the dependent aged was offset somewhat by the decreasing proportion of dependent children in the population. Over a number of decades the ratio of those in the productive ages of life remained fairly constant. In recent years, however, a striking change has taken place. The birth rate, which had been declining for many years, rose from the low of 1933 and reached a high point in 1947, which was at the the level of that 25 years earlier. Although the birth rate has declined since, it is still fairly high. These high birth rates are reflected in an increase of 14 percent in the number of young people under 20 between 1940 and 1950, and there will be a still further increase of about 16 percent during the next decade, ending in 1960.

In this way, the burden of dependency which has to be carried by those at the working ages of life has increased, and the outlook is that this trend will continue for some time to come. We can see this in the declining proportion of the total population at the main working ages of life—20 to 64—from 59 percent in 1940 to 57.5 percent in 1950. A recent projection made by the experts of the Census Bureau for 1960 predicts a further decline to 55 percent.

I might also call your attention to the fact that our young people are staying at school for longer periods and are entering the labour force later in life, again reducing the productive capacity of the population. In addition, our young women are marrying earlier. That, too, takes them out of the labour force, and even if they do stay at work after marriage, they leave work at an earlier age because of the coming of the children. These factors throw an ever greater burden upon those who remain in the labour force.

For all these reasons consideration will have to be given to the ways and means by which the proportion of the total population at the productive ages can be increased to meet the large burden of dependency. There are many evidences that leaders in industry are taking these matters seriously and are making provision for keeping their older workers on the job. Employers are also helping to meet the economic problems of retired employees by the establishment of pension funds supplement-ing Federal pension plans. Most important, industrial workers themselves, while they are still in their productive period of life, are more and more making provision for their later years through the purchase of life insurance and through other savings and investments. One cannot too strongly emphasize the vision and foresight which Canadian employers have exhibited as respects the welfare of their employees—in many cases insurance and retirement plans long preceding the inauguration of any social security legislation.

On all these phases of public health, greatly increased attention is manifest through the co-operation of life insurance with such bodies as the American Medical Association, the Public Health Service, and our Federal Security Agency. Corresponding interest is very evident throughout Canada. In both of our countries we have developed separate organisations among life insurance companies for devotion of some of their funds to medicall research. In our so-called Life Insurance Research Fund, we now have the support of 140 life insurance companies of the United States and Canada, which contribute from $600,000 to $700,000 a year to this Fund—I like to convert that sometimes to what an equivalent endowment would be at current rates of interest. It would require a capital endowment of something like $20,000,000 to produce from $600,000 to $700,000 a year. And incidentally, I want to say your Canadian life insurance companies preceded us in that inauguration of Medical Research.

In the case of this particular Fund, the research is so far begin devoted to the diseases of the heart and cardiovascular organs. Special research studies are going along in other agencies respecting degenerative diseases, such as cancer, poliomyelitis, and so forth. Fortunately, our two countries, in particular, have the resources, the talent, and the facilities to investigate these problems on a broad scale, and I like to think of you as the big giant, having the resources to throw into these investigations. Healthy people make strong nations, and strong nations are needed for survival under present conditions.

Sometimes we speculate on how much room there should be for further improvement. If we have gained 20 years in expectation during the last half century, is there a limit? One feels that there must be a limit; but there is every good reason to believe that existing records will continue to be broken. We are told that there is every reason to hope for further conquests in the field of health that may bring the expectation of life at birth to something like 75 years, as against the 49 years of a half century ago.

These considerations, emanating from my life insurance background, are presented as really playing their important part in the general economic field. Improvement in the economy of our two countries will come in no small measure through improvement in the health and mortality of our people.

I cannot close without hearty congratulations to my Canadian friends on the remarkable development of the past few years in your country. If I may be permitted, I would indulge here in an amusing anecdote, which strikes me as being a very typical of this changing condition. A few months ago we were at the Seigniory Club. I might say that I have been many times to Canada and to the Seigniory Club off and on for a number of years. When I was there I would pull out my money, go to the cashier, and get a little change with which to pay caddies, and others. This time, last June I think it was, I had forgotten about the recent reversal of exchange rates. I presented a $20 bill to the cashier and received back $19.60. That seems typical of what the change has been, and the difference in conditions in these two countries.

I mention that merely by way of congratulating you on the great transition in Canada from an agricultural to an industrial economy. Developments of the last few years in the matter of iron ore, new and large petroleum discoveries, and the establishment of vast manufacturing enterprises, such as newsprint, synthetic fibres, chemicals and the aluminum projects in Quebec and British Columbia, all go to warrant the great optimism which we share with you as to the future of Canadian business.

A striking practical example of our sharing this optimism with you is to be found in the remarkable number of joint commissions and committees, both governmental and industrial, which have been constituted with representation from both sides of the border. These commissions and committees have been created and now exist in the common interest of our two countries.

No little part in your new outlook is due to the wisdom and fairness of your government. I have no partisan feelings regarding what may be your local conditions, but it can hardly be gainsaid that those who have to do with your financial and your business background are men of great capabilities as evidenced by the existing conditions. Also, in social and welfare activities your people have reached a maturity which expresses the underlying democracy that prevails in your country. From every aspect, it appears to us that you are entering a new phase of growth which will give you an opportunity to play an even greater part in the affairs of the world.

Let me take this opportunity to thank you for the privilege of appearing before your distinguished group and to congratulate you nationally and individually on everything that gives such promise to Canada and to its people.

Thank you.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. J. G. Parker.

"THE UNITED NATIONS TO-DAY"

An Address by

H.E. GENERAL CARLOS P. ROMULO
Philippine Ambassador to the United States, and Permanent Philippine Delegate to the United Nations

Joint meeting with United Nations Association in Canada (Toronto Branch)

Thursday, October 23rd, 1952

CHAIRMAN: The President, Mr. John W. Griffin.

INTRODUCTION BY the President, United Nations Association in Canada (Toronto Branch), Mr. W. G. C. Howland.

MR. HOWLAND: Mr. Chairman, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen:—

Seven years ago to-morrow, the United Nations came into being. Under its charter the peoples of 60 nations, through their respective governments, have resolved to bend their united efforts to the end that all nations, large and small, may live together in peace and without fear.

After more than two years of bitter warfare in Korea, and when the hopes of a speedy armistice have faded in the distance, let us not forget that it was in furtherance of this fundamental purpose, and in the face of outright and unprovoked aggression that the peoples of the United Nations acted in Korea. At the entrance to the United Nations Cemetery in far-off Pusan there fly the flags of 16 nations, including Canada, the members of whose armed services have given their lives in the cause of the United Nations, and 40 nations in all have contributed economic and financial support. There is much more involved in this war than the fate of Korea alone. The ability of the United Nations to take effective action in the face of aggression has been directly challenged for the first time. Unless we and the other peoples of the world are prepared to give it sufficient collective support, both directly and through regional pacts, to enable it to uphold the United Nations Charter, how can we expect that the 300 million people of the Pacific, who, like the Filipinos, are our friends and our neighbours, will remain free; how can we expect that our great Commonwealth will survive, and that a Third World War will be averted?

Whilst collective security is essential, the United Nations during the seven years of its existence has also been deeply conscious of the fact that the economic and social advancement of the peoples of underdeveloped countries is almost equally vital to a lasting peace. To the two-thirds of the world who live in such areas, where the expectation of life is only 30 years, the United Nations through its specialized agencies and through its programme of technical assistance has meant food, clothing, the prevention of disease and the hope of a better standard of living. Through UNICEF alone, over 6,000,000 children have been fed and clothed and some 14,000,000 have been vaccinated against tuberculosis. To over a million refugees the United Nations has meant repatriation or a home in a new land. To all men everywhere the United Nations through the Universal Declaration of Human Rights stands for the fundamental dignity and equal rights of every individual regardless of race, creed, nationality or political considerations.

Whilst United Nations week is being celebrated throughout the world this week under the leadership of the various United Nations Associations, for us in Canada it has a particular significance inasmuch as the General Assembly of the United Nations has chosen as its President at this crucial point in its existence our own Secretary of State for External Affairs. It is therefore especially fitting that we should have as our speaker to-day a former President of the General Assembly. As a graduate of the University of the Philippines and of Columbia University, as an editor and publisher in his own country, as a distinguished soldier who took part in the invasion of Leyte and the recapture of Manila, as Secretary of Foreign Affairs of his country, and now as Ambassador to the United States, the career of our guest has been one of brilliance and amazing versatility. In one respect I think it is unique. He has not only been the winner of a Pulitzer Prize in Journalism but is the author of five best-sellers, the last of which called "The United" which was published last year is a novel. It is, however, as a world citizen and as one of the bulwarks of the United Nations that the name of General Romulo is best-known and respected throughout the world and it gives me great pleasure to ask him to speak to you about "The United Nations To-day."

GENERAL ROMULO: I consider it a high honour to be your guest on this the seventh anniversary of the United Nations.

I come from a country which used to be geographically distant from Canada. Today, in our rapidly contracting world, the Philippines together with the rest of the Far East has become your next-door neighbour. Manila, our capital city, is less than two days' flying time from Toronto. The vast Pacific is no longer the formidable water barrier that it was between your land and mine.

And while the earth, in a physical sense, has been getting smaller, our concept of inter-dependence among nations has been growing broader. The span of our common interests has become co-extensive with the globe.

Thus we find this great Dominion, which is historically oriented towards Europe, playing an increasingly important role in Asia today. We may account for this in part by the facts of geography. Canada, like its illustrious neighbour, the United States, is both an Atlantic and a Pacific power, and it was bound to take a more active interest in the affairs of Asia as its own western frontier moved across the North American continent to the shores of the Pacific Ocean. But the true explanation is to be found not so much in the national expansion of Canada as in the growing solidarity of the free world under the aegis of the United Nations.

The measure of this growth of unity among the component countries of the free world is reflected in the role which Canada has assumed in Asia. That role has a dual character, each subserving the cause of freedom and both as devoid of *self-interest* as it is humanly possible to be.

In the past, as you know, Western Powers came to Asia to establish by force of arms their dominion over Asian peoples. Today Canada, a Western Power, sends its troops into Korea to help an Asian nation to defend its independence against aggression.

For centuries the wealth of Asian lands was exploited for the benefit of the West. One consequence of this exploitation was to retard and distort the economic growth of the Asian countries, to such an extent that many of them now require international aid to achieve the level of economic development essential to the maintenance of a free society in the modern world. Today Canada, which had no part in the process of exploitation, is helping to rectify its baneful effects. Canada is a participant in the Colombo Plan and its contribution to the United Nations' expanded programme of technical assistance to under-developed countries is second only to that of the United States.

You will understand, therefore, why I should feel exceptionally gratified to be able to observe United Nations Day here in Canada, among a people who stand in the vanguard of the free world's struggle against both the danger of aggression and the menace to peace arising from widespread poverty, hunger and misery in the under-developed areas of the world. I cannot think of a better place, or a more auspicious occasion, for renewing my faith in the United Nations and my hope that the dream of world brotherhood enshrined in the Charter will be realized in good time.

It seems to me that there is a special need for this reaffirmation of faith among the peoples of the free world today. We are passing through a period of disappointment and doubt about the United Nations. After seven years of toil and struggle, the sanguine hopes for peace raised in San Francisco remain unfulfilled, and there appears to be no more rewarding prospect before mankind than an indefinite extension of the "cold war" with its ugly tensions, its crushing economic burdens and its poisonous climate of suspicion and fear. With the recession of hope, confidence in the United Nations is being undermined and many are questioning not only its effectiveness but its very reason for being.

I hope this is just a momentary wavering of allegiance. The United Nations can withstand, at it has in the past, the hard blows of its enemies. But it cannot survive the defection or the defeatism of its friends.

I submit that there is no cause for despair about the United Nations. The purposes and principles for which it stands are as valid today as they were at the bright moment of its founding. The ends which it has sought to attain—peace and prosperity for all nations, in conditions that safeguard and nourish human dignity and freedom—are no less desirable now. And its methods have been proved to be sound: conciliation and co-operation whereever possible; firmness and strength whenever necessary.

It is quite true that the United Nations has not brought peace to the world in a day, but who, knowing as we do now the magnitude and complexity of this task, would have expected such a miracle to happen? And why should we, in reviewing the record with the wisdom of hindsight, hold against the United Nations its failure to accomplish a goal that was rendered unattainable by Communist intransigence?

It would be more sensible, I think, to assess the situation anew in the light of experience, and plot our future course according to the lessons we have learned.

The first of these lessons is patience. We realize clearly now that we may have to put up with the "cold war" for a much longer period than we had originally hoped. The possibility, however remote, of a rapprochement with the Communist Powers, should never be precluded and all the conceivable avenues of conciliation should be kept open at all times. However, the fact that the state of conflict-short-of-war may be indefinitely prolonged must be accepted and resolutely faced.

This means that the free world must continue to build up strength adequate for defense and at the same time perfect the United Nations machinery for its effective use in case it should be required to deal with a new act of aggression.

The second lesson that should serve as a guidepost in our search for peace through the United Nations is the fact that a free world divided against itself is no match for the Communist world. We should therefore make every effort to reduce to a minimum the tensions that stand in the way of fuller collaboration among the free nations. We could, for instance, co-operate with more sincerity and goodwill in speeding up the process of liberation of the remaining non-self-governing peoples and in promoting universal respect for fundamental human rights and freedoms. Thereby we can enhance our collective strength and solidarity.

Finally, the free world, through the United Nations, should utilize more fully its capacity to help the underdeveloped countries to raise their standards of living by democratic means. Experience has shown that this is the most effective way of combatting the insidious lure of Communism in the depressed and poverty-ridden areas. It would be particularly useful in South and Southeast Asia, where the pressure for rapid economic and social development is unusually strong and the means for achieving it woefully inadequate.

It is in this field that the highly developed countries of the West, like Canada and the United States, could play a decisive role in keeping a vital area of the free world securely in the democratic camp. There is every reason to believe that the resources of the free world are adequate to the task. The Secretary-General of the United Nations estimates that the present volume of capital and other forms of aid for the economic development of the depressed areas can be increased by at least one billion dollars a year, despite the huge expenditures required by current defense programmes.

An investment on this scale in the economic and social development of free Asia and other depressed areas would constitute a major contribution to international peace and security. It would have the effect of linking free Asia's well-being inseparably with the welfare of the rest of the free world through the United Nations.

The peoples living in the depressed areas are moved by a strong urge to better their lot, to buttress their hard-won political freedom with the substance of a better life. They look to their sister democracies among the developed countries for understanding and assistance. It is to the lasting credit of the people of this great land that they have been among the first and the most generous to respond to this human need.

By this unselfish act, they might have served better than they realized the cause of peace and orderly progress to which the United Nations is dedicated. The Charter establishes an absolute parity between the provisions relating to collective security and those which pertain to higher standards of living and respect for human dignity. That is why the United Nations has been entrusted with a two-fold responsibility: the maintenance of peace by security measures and the promotion of economic and social progress. The two functions are inter-dependent and indivisible, for peace could not prevail in the world unless all the provisions of the Charter were honoured and implemented.

The fate of the United Nations as a useful and effective organization will depend not only on the building up of security forces powerful enough to discourage or punish aggression but also — in ever increasing measure — on whether or not the Charter's objective of a "better life in larger freedom" will become a reality in the lives of the disinherited and under-priviliged members of the human family.

As the standards of life in the depressed areas improve—as the domain of hunger, sickness, poverty and ignorance recedes, supplanted ever more fully by conditions of social health and economic security, the goal of universal and permanent peace will come at last within the reach of mankind.

This is the great opportunity that opens up before the free world as the United Nations embarks upon its eighth year of life. It is a cause for legitimate pride for the Canadian people to realize that they are in a position, by their generosity and good will no less than by their wisdom and statesmanship, to help turn this opportunity into a goal attained, an age-old dream finally realized.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. H. A. Edmison.

"FAITH OF A BRITON"

An Address by

REV. CANON BRYAN GREEN

Thursday, October 30th, 1952

CHAIRMAN: The President, Mr. John W. Griffin.

MR. GRIFFIN: Members and Guests of the Empire Club of Canada: Our speaker today, Rev. Canon Bryan Green, is a native of London whose great university he attended. At the age of 17 he began to preach the Word of God in the open air and this extraordinary apostolic zeal has remained the dominant influence in his life since that time. He was ordained in 1924 and has served in churches in London, Oxford and Birmingham. During the Hitler War he was Chaplain of the 1st Anti-Aircraft Signals Group Headquarters in the centre of London. Today he is Rector of the parish church of Birmingham, which bears the unusual name of St. Martin's in the Bull Ring. He has a large and varied congregation according him full scope for his tremendous energy and abiding desire to lead men away from the overwhelming secular influence of our day. Since the end of the war he has preached missions in New York, Washington, Boston, Calcutta, Melbourne, Sydney and Philadelphia. Now he is in Toronto conducting a ten-day mission at the Colosseum in Exhibition Park. We are honoured to have so widely travelled a man, so renowned an orator, so zealous a servant of the Lord, as our speaker today.

Before calling on Canon Green I would like to tell you a story. Yesterday I was interviewing several applicants for a secretarial position which I have available. As part of my test of these young women I dictated the formal introduction which you have just heard. After some of these girls had transcribed and typed out what I gave them the word "Canon" appeared with two n's. We all know that our speaker is a Canon in the ecclesiastical sense but I am sure you will agree with me after you have heard him that he has an impact like heavy artillery. If you will pardon a strictly North American expression I will now call on "Cannon" Bryan Green—one of the big guns of the Anglican Church.

Rev. CANON BRYAN GREEN, B.D.: Mr. Chairman, My Lord Bishop, and Gentlemen: It is a very great pleasure indeed for me to have the opportunity and privilege of speaking to such a gathering of men in the City of Toronto. I count it a privilege, because, although most of us who are married like I am and married a long time like in my case, are led by a woman, it is, of course, true that in the end the men really matter, and it is nice to make that declaration in public. I have met a number of business men in Toronto, and it is nice to find a strong masculine element in this city which will not be dominated by the opposite sex.

When I was asked—it is always inconvenient to be asked about two months ahead what you are going to talk about two months later to an audience you have never seen—when I was asked for the subject I was not sure. I realized, of course, you were an up-to-date Club; on the other hand, there is an old-fashioned word in your title which we don't come across very often these days. I therefore looked around for an old-fashioned subject, and with some trepidation I announced my subject to be "THE FAITH OF AN ENGLISHMAN". You will notice the neat phrasing of the subject, to which I shall adhere very closely—it is "THE FAITH OF AN ENGLISHMAN". I would not venture to speak on the faith of a Scot: the only faith the Scot has is the faith in himself. He is too cautious to have a faith in someone else. And when I reflect upon an Irishman, as far as I can observe from their recent history and their past, they have faith in nobody, including themselves. The

American, of course, is all right; he has faith in God's own country. But I leave the Canadians alone, severely. You need not infer from that that I think you have no faith.

I think it is an important subject, however, when we come to consider it, and although, as I was reflecting once in Gander when the plane was delayed for some time—I have come to use all the airlines from time to time, in spite of their claims to run on time—I was reflecting upon life in general, and the general situation in Great Britain. I sent an article back to one of the newspaper for which I write. I pointed out that our economic leadership had gone forever: our military leadership obviously had gone. I developed the theme that we still have a contribution to make along the line of moral and spiritual leadership. The paper for which I write, being a Tory paper, did not publish the article. Fortunately I write for a paper of the other Party as well, and I sent it on to them. But there is some truth in that. One of the troubles I find in England is to get Englishmen to accept that fact. By way of being realistic, I am convinced you never live life unless you live close to reality. One of the greatest "beefs" I have against the Christian Churches is that we sometimes don't live close to reality. I think if England wishes to play her part today, we have got to be realists. As Rector of Birmingham, in which I spend my time in mixing with Executives in the factories, from Monday till Friday, I must say I am not impressed by business men as a whole. In some respects I think many of them are very conservative. When it comes to public relationships they are out of date. They have had certain methods for years which they are refusing to alter. They adopt the "take it or leave it" attitude. I think there is a change coming.

I make no apology. We have got to be realists there as history has proved. Although we have had many failures in Great Britain, we have many great things and things we never need to be ashamed of. No man who reads English history needs to be ashamed of being an Englishman.

And therefore, Gentlemen, there is nothing to worry about in one sense or to be ashamed of. If our glory in some respects is in the past, I always remind my American friends—I have the privilege of going to the United States oftener than to you, perhaps because my work is more necessary there, and in certain respects I thing it is more necessary when it comes to talking about England in the Middle West—that we still have something to give. As one of your great Canadians and a great personal friend of mine, General Basil Price, said, he believed that England still can give a moral and spiritual leadership to the English-speaking world.

Therefore my topic is of great importance—WHAT IS THE FAITH OF AN ENGLISHMAN today?

There are three things I would say about his faith. First of all, he has the religion of his country. It is a strange thing about an Englishman, he has deeply imbedded in him the religion of his country for 2,000 years. It is not for nothing that Christianity has been the religion of England for 2,000 years. It is in the blood; the ideas of the Bible are there in the woof and warp of his thinking.

It is interesting, with an Englishmen, he says he is a Christian although he does not go to church. He has a kind of a hunch of what a Christian ought to be. I want to tell you that I made it a rule many years ago to be gravely concerned when the conscience of the Englishman disapproves of anything in the Christian church. I am not at all sure, that when the ordinary Englishman, in large numbers, disapproves of some stand or attitude of the Christian Church, he is not right. I don't wish to be controversial. If you can guess the issues I shall be very glad. I believe, in fact, that deep in the minds of Englishman there are the Bible ideas—a kind of background idea of Christianity, and that the great virtues of moral integrity, of truth and honour, stem from the Bible.

As we mix with Englishmen, the new business type, the new managerial type, the new technical type, the new professional doctor type, we see to our dismay a decay of these Biblical virtues of truth, honour and integrity. I don't wish to give illustrations because that would take time, but I certainly could show what is worrying many of us most deeply, for there has been undoubtedly in England for many centuries a diffused Christianity, which is in the heart and life of English people generally. It pervades not only our big private schools but also our State schools. You find it in the attitude of doctor to patient, you find it in the professional attitude of lawyers, the diffused religion of their country, just because they are English, and because these traditional virtues have been inculcated in their very being.

I will cite an historian, Professor Butterfield, in "CHRISTIANITY AND EUROPE", and it is worth reading. He makes the point that the great contribution of the Christian Church to European civilization is that it brought into the world a new form of charity, organized charity, gentleness, humanitarianism, and in fact against the rude paganism, the Christian Church produced this charity, out of which hospitals, charity to women and children, arose.

For two thousand years we have had the Christian Church in England, and those Christian virtues are part and parcel of our country.

Secondly, I would point out to you that the Englishman's faith is centred in the religion of his church. Now you can't get rid of church spires, not even Americans, who have divorced with great care, government and religion. The parish churches of England with their spires and towers speak to the Englishman of the religion of their church; and if you had a vote in England today you would get hardly any support for disestablishment of the Church of England. I know they would prefer the State church to take the leadership, than a Ministers' Fraternal Association with a new Chairman every year, which you have in the United States. In every city of the States you have your group of Ministers, and you never know which Chairman you get the next year.

My observation is that pastors are not jealous of the Church of England. The State Church is given the leadership gladly and willingly. If a pastor is a brother in Christ to all his fellow Christians, then the leadership is gladly and willingly given to it, and I believe that is of importance, if I may say so, and I have some right to say so because I am the Rector of Birmingham, which is one of the larger churches in England. Birmingham is one of the few cities left where the Rector is the recognized leader of the whole city. The parish church of Birmingham is 700 years old, and the city looks to it for leadership. The Englishman likes to see the state schools coming there to service, the whole of the police force come to service, the Judges come before the Assizes, the Lord Mayor comes there after the election every year. And do you say,—Does that make any difference?

It is not for nothing that we have a church sense in the sense that we have a State church. Of course, I know you can scoff at it. You can say, most Englishmen only go to church on odd occasions. You can say, Englishmen are "four-wheeler" Christians, they go to church in a pram to be baptized, in a car to be married, and in a hearse to be buried." To which I reply, I am very glad they come at all. They certainly need it on the last occasion, and it is a privilege to be there to bury them.

Some scoff at the idea of church marriages saying, "they just like the show and the music". I want to give you my testimony. For ten years I was vicar at one of the fashionable churches in London. I learned by interviewing couples four times before I married them, for two hours each time, that when men really love, God is very near. If God is love, you would expect it, and at that moment in life, men are particularly susceptible to deep feelings of religion. If a parson takes the trouble, fashionable wedding services could be a spiritual reality in the lives of those young couples, because they came to be married, not in the Registry office, but in the parish church. Following that up afterwards in life I have confirmed that diagnosis.

True, in the latest census, we have heard that only about twenty per cent. of the English people go to church at all regularly. That only five per cent. of the population go every Sunday; but we still have the church in the heart of English life, and I have never yet met an Englishman in our factories even a politically pink one, who has said "I would like to abolish the churches."

In fact, I remember one famous occasion. I was a padre during the war. I did all right with the men, but I found, for eight years, the women extremely difficult. Women in uniform are quite adamant about it. The high ranking officers were quite upset. You can't put women into uniform without destroying individuality, and that is characteristically feminine. As I was saying, I found these women extremely difficult to approach. So one day I said, "This morning, girls, I am going to give you eight reasons why I think it would be a good thing to destroy all the churches." For twenty minutes I gave them all the reasons that I had picked up in Hyde Park, why the churches should be abolished. I sat down. Well you should have heard them. For twenty minutes they were on their feet, attacking me violently, with anger and bitterness. The one thing that came out was that they never wanted to get rid of the parsons and churches. I said, "If you think all that about the churches and parsons, why don't you come to church every Sunday?"

So you see, Gentlemen, the faith of the Englishman then is the religion of his country, something in his bones. It is the religion of the State church, supported magnificiently by the other churches. This unity of the churches can be magnified. There is a very good opportunity in all the churches.

And finally the religion of the Englishman is still in a queer way the religion of his family. It is a strange thing how many Englishmen like their children to go to Sunday School, not simply because they want to sleep on Sunday afternoon, but because they want their children to have something. They like the wife to go, it keeps her good. They prefer to put their child under a Headmaster who has religious principles.

That is very interesting. I lectured to the teaching profession because I was Inspector of Schools for four years, and I pointed out to them the fact that the surest way to become a Headmaster was to be a Christian. A remarkable development of the past twenty years has been the splendid deep and spiritual character of many of the leaders of our Education. I believe that is no accident. I believe the fact is that men, deep in their bones, want their family to have religion. A great number of Englishmen say their prayers. You would be surprised at the number who say their prayers—business men, in their offices, talking sensibly to God in prayer. It is surprising, the number of business men you discover who actually read a few verses of the Bible every night. It is quite surprising also how people listen to the religious broadcasts. One-third of our listening population listens to religious broadcasts.

If you would write for the national papers as I do—I write 1,000 words for the BIRMINGHAM GAZETTE,—you would be surprised at the number of men who take the trouble to read what you write.

There is no doubt at all, that still in his family life, the Englishman has some kind of religious feeling, a feeling that home life needs something to do with God in it. And the faith of an Englishman is bound up like that with the religion of his country, the religion of his church and family.

But, you say, it is not very decisive, it is not very active, it is rather nebulous; in fact, you might almost say the Englishman is living on borrowed capital. It is rather a kind of bedraggled faith. It is a faith that has been handed on. So many Englishmen will say to me, "My mother taught me this", or it was "my grandmother." It has now gone back a generation. That is what disturbs some of us. What worries me about the accuracy of this lecture, I just wonder if I am describing the faith of an Englishman of thirty years ago; whether I really am describing the faith of an Englishman today. That is the thing that concerns me, whether perhaps in the generation behind you, I am accurate; whether I am describing your generation and mine,—that I am inaccurate.

There is no doubt that there is a widespread ignorance of the Christian faith today. I find a number of people who can not tell me what happened on Easter or Good Friday, or on Christmas Day, and they are not trying to do anything to remedy that ignorance. It is said a little girl, who was asked, "Is your father a Christian?" replied: "Oh, yes, he is, but he is not doing much about it lately."

I would like to tell you of the general feeling I have about all classes of Society.

The very rich have not done much about Christianity for a long time, they are too rich to bother, quite forgetting money does not follow one after death.

The very poor have not bothered about God, they are very bitter with Society, with which feeling I sympathize.

The strength of England has been the group in between, that great solid basis of English life, and there was the Englishman's faith, and there, if England is to recover her faith, it must start.

So what we need in England today more than anything else is a revival of deep, basic Christian belief. Now how it is going to happen? We can't have missions, like we have in Toronto, every day. But those missions don't touch the matter. Don't make the mistake that I think this mission is very important. It is important, but not very important. It is only a useful, valuable incident.

There are three major ways by which England can recover her faith, and if in Canada you feel I am hitting any nail on the head, if you feel the cap fits you, then wear it. I suggest these three ways are equally applicable to you.

First, if we wish in England to recover a true Englishman's faith, which has made stable Christian homes. We have got to practise and begin to re-practise the Christian way of life. We can not let the spirit of aggression, the spirit of force, the spirit of slackness, the spirit of the smart aleck, the spirit of expediency, the spirit of compromise hold us. We must start to practise the Christian way—belief in armaments will never save the world, but belief in the way of Jesus will. To compromise with evil is always wrong. We must believe in the basic qualities of generosity, discipline and duty, the right use of talents and stewardship. To practise these virtues matters, and we have got to practise them, and we will not get faith back to England until Englishmen start to practise them again.

Second, we have got once more to reassert that Englishmen must attend church. The Roman Catholics have set us a magnificent example, they have taught their people to go to church every Sunday. You may be cynical and say it is because of fear. Well, that may be true. There many things I do because of fear. There are some representing the great insurance companies who are glad that you have fear enough to insure your property and business. Don't be silly and sneer at fear in religion, it is cheap. Whatever is the motive, the Roman Catholics are right when they have said to their men and women, "Go to church every Sunday". But if I want to catch the spirit of Jesus Christ, then I put myself in the Church of Christ where I shall likely catch it. Therefore I make no apology to say in England, and to you, it is your business to be in church every Sunday. I am not interested about your golf, or gardening. If you claim to believe in the Christian faith and the Christian virtues, it is your duty, and your paramount duty, to take yourself into some branch of the Christian church once every Sunday for prayer and corporate worship in the Christian instruction and faith.

Now that is a paramount duty, to practise the Christian virtues and to belong to some branch of the Christian church.

Third, me must take Christ into our home. One of the great tragic things which every parson, who is a friendly human person, finds when he gets behind the door of the home is that the children have no religion because the parents obviously have not. How can my little boy, six, see the importance and follow the way of Jesus unless he sees I believe in it with all my heart?

I say, Gentlemen, then if we are to recover the true Englishman's faith, which I think I have set before you, we must practise again the Christian way, we must belong to the Christian church and we must take Christ and His teaching into our home.

There is, of course, one other point to state. All what I have said is of absolutely no avail unless I take the spirit of Christ into my own personality, in personal faith and acceptance. I must give you, as I sit down, my own testimony, that I can not be too glad that when I was a boy of sixteen, brought up in a religious home, there came the time when the truth of Christ came to me, and I dedicated my life to Christ.

I have a daughter of seventeen, of whom I am very fond. She takes after her mother, which is an additional reason I am fond of her. I have three wishes for her.

I wish her to be happily married, because I can recommend it. I want her to be happily married. Incidentally, I would like her to come to Canada.

Secondly, I want her to have a real career, where she can live as a self-supporting citizen, previous to her marriage, to show she can support herself.

Third, I want her to be a broadminded person with good interests and wide culture, so that she can be a good companion to her husband and children and a person worth knowing, because she knows so much.

When I have said those three things, I have not said the fourth, which I most wish for her. I most wish for her that she shall, somehow, at some point, give herself over to Christ, and know in her heart the power of the spirit of God, to give real faith and real stability and a real direction to life.

Gentlemen, I want her to be a Christian more than I want her to be anything else.

That, Gentlemen, is what I want an Englishman's faith to be.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. R. C. Berkinshaw.

"EAST OF SINGAPORE"

S.E. Asia: Problem for the West

An Address by

GENERAL SIR NEIL RITCHIE

Thursday, November 6th, 1952

CHAIRMAN: The President, Mr. John W. Griffin.

MR. GRIFFIN: Members and Guests of The Empire Club of Canada: Our speaker today is a distinguished veteran of two great wars. General Sir Neil Ritchie was commissioned in the Royal Highland Regiment (The Black Watch) in 1914 and won the Distinguished Service Order and the Military Cross for his service with this famous regiment in France, Mesopotamia and the Middle East. Between the wars he attended Staff College, served on the Northwest Frontier of India and again in the Middle East. In 1938 he was appointed Commanding Officer of the Second Battalion, King's Own. By the end of 1939 he was Chief of Staff to Sir Alan Brook, G.O.C. 2nd Corps, who later became Chief of the Imperial General Staff. Sir Neil went on to command successively the 51st Highland Division, 52nd Lowland Division, the 8th Army and the 12th Corps in Northwest Europe. From 1947 to 1949 he was Commander-in-Chief, Far East Land Forces and terminated his career with the important appointment of commander of the British Army Staff in the U.S.A. In 1950 he was appointed Colonel of The Black Watch. After he retired from the King's service Sir Neil decided to make his home in Canada and it is a pleasure, in the name of The Empire Club of Canada, to welcome him to the great Dominion. British generals have been coming here since 1759, Sir Neil, "when Wolfe the dauntless hero came" but not all have honoured the Empire Club as you are doing today.

GENERAL RITCHIE: Contrary somewhat to the title of this address I am going to talk chiefly of an area to the north of Singapore because it is that part of the world which I know best in the Far East.

In the time there is available today, I cannot, of course, attempt to cover all the problems of South East Asia and I will, therefore, confine myself in the first place to giving you a brief background of the South East Asian situation as it exists today, and then turn to Malaya and the situation there. If there is time, I will briefly mention some of the other countries such as French Indo-China, British North Borneo and Burma. I would like too to mention one or two factors—the outcome of the Korean war—as affecting South East Asia, and finally mention India as a very important entity in the future of that part of the world.

Within South East Asia lies an extremely important area of the world. It houses a very great population whose conditions of living are low as viewed through Western eyes. It possesses great natural resources which, in countries such as Burma, Thailand, and French Indo-China, have as yet scarcely been scratched. Potentially, it could for many years provide great markets for the manufactures of the West. Through it passes great ocean trade routes, and its importance in the development of the world's air routes increases daily. That it should become settled and stable is of great importance in balancing the whole economy of the world and in particular that of Japan. Lastly, it is the gateway towards Australasia to the south and India to the west.

Look where you will in South East Asia and there you will find enormous overseas Chinese populations. This is particularly the case in countries such as French Indo-China, Thailand and Malaya, all of which were in the past ages vassel States of the Chinese Empire. No matter how long these Chinese or their ancestors have been settled overseas from China, they have never really severed their ties with that country. As a general rule, they have not become a part and parcel of the lands of their adoption, or their birth. In the past they, or their ancestors, emigrated from China in search of trade and commerce, in conditions which were generally more stable than existed in China itself. They are always looking back to that country to see which way the wind is blowing and are setting their sails accordingly. So you will realize that the ideals adopted and action followed in China have a very direct influence over the majority of countries in South East Asia. There is, therefore, a ready made machinery through the medium of which Chinese thoughts and actions can be spread, with little or no effort, through that part of the world. It has an extremely important effect and should never be overlooked.

In the last few years there has been a really remarkable change in the attitude of the Chinese towards war. The campaign in Korea has illustrated that they can and will fight whereas in the past, the Chinaman was inclined to look upon fighting as a useless, stupid and undignified procedure. Of course, they had their wars but these usually took the form of manoeuvres, the design of which was to avoid closing the battle at all costs. Concurrently with this manoeuvring every subterfuge was employed to try and induce the enemy to change sides. At some suitable time the war was called off, the number of men on each side counted and the side that had the most was adjudged to be the winner. This may have been all very well in the past when the armies, or so-called armies, in China were really the private property of individual war lords. These war lords were hired by the contesting parties and grouped together to form the army. The individual soldiers were in effect mercenaries who were not fighting for any cause at all but merely for cash, and the cash quite frequently was not forthcoming. There was little or no national urge. With the coming into power of Russian-trained Chinese communist leaders this has all changed. The allegiance of the individual man is now to the central government and not as previously to individual war lords.

This is the main reason I suggest for this change of mind and why we see today Chinese soldiers fighting with great courage and determination on the Korean battle fields. This feature of the Chinese outlook has had a very marked effect on the overseas Chinese in South East Asia who are now starting to appreciate that China is beginning to become a military power of some consequence; she is no longer a military nonentity. There is no doubt that the effect will be widespread in Far East Asia and we may well see its spread outside that area as the future unfolds.

To turn now to the problem of rice. Somewhere about 25% of the total world population are primarily rice eaters. 95% of the people of the Far East eat rice as their stable food; 60% to 70% of the potential exportable rice of the whole world comes from the three countries of Indo-China, Burma and Thailand. These three countries between them form not only the rice bowl of the Far East, but almost of the whole world. They are, therefore, of extreme importance in the Far East in particular and in the word in general. Whoever controls them is in a very strong position to influence large areas outside. I need hardly stress the strategic importance that they present.

I would like here to mention a feature of change as between the pre-war era and the present day. There are today in most of the countries in South East Asia a very great number of unauthorized weapons in the hands of irresponsible and unscrupulous individuals. This is the result of the war and you will appreciate that these countries were over-run at least twice in most cases by contesting armies in the period between 1940 and 1945. This somewhat naturally results in an undercurrent of uneasiness and mistrust as between the various components of the population. There is only one real solution, and that is to get all these weapons under control, but we of the British Empire with our long experience of similar problems on the northwest frontier of India, and between the wars in Palestine, know that this policy is almost impossible of full achievement. I cannot recollect in my knowledge of history that it has ever proved fully satisfactory except in the subjection of the Highlands of Scotland, and that took 200 years to achieve.

Malaya is, as it were, a mirror which reflects far more what happens outside it than what goes on within. The troubles that have now been going on in that country for the last four years are wholly Communist inspired. The bandit participants are almost 100% Chinese. It is a mistake to imagine that Communism in Malaya is any new feature. In fact, the first cells there appeared over thirty years ago and the Communistic Organization in that land was utilized by the Western Allies to a considerable extent during the late war. It is not generally realized perhaps that the population of Malaya is made up of 42% Chinese, 42% Malayans, and the remaining 16% are Indians, Indonesians, Europeans, Eurasians, and what nots. One can truthfully say there is little, if any, Nationalist feeling.

I would like now to give you some idea of the country and the climate. Down the spine of Malaya, there runs a mountain range which in parts rises to nearly 10,000 feet. Two-thirds of the country is unopened virgin jungle. It will give you some idea as to what it is like when I tell you that in the densest jungle it is dark almost all the time. It is far worse than anything I ever saw in Burma. The only means of progress is to cut your way through it as you go. Roads and railways are few and far between, except in the coastal area on the west side of the Peninsula. The climate is hot, humid, and enervating; it rains almost every day. If perchance it doesn't rain for two consecutive days, the climate becomes insufferably oppressive. There is no change of season; no summer, no spring, no fall, no winter; just the same all the time. So you will gather it isn't perhaps the choicest terrain in which to carry out police and quasi military operations, and it places a great physical strain on all who participate in them. But this is by no means all of the complications that this country presents. There are, or there were, in Malaya at the close of the late war, some one quarter million people — all Chinese — known as "squatters". By squatters is meant people who have just gone into the edges of the jungle, cleared small areas, and existed there by the raising of poultry, vegetables, etc. They are quite uncontrolled and by this I would imply that not only are they outside the law from the point of view of keeping them in order, but also the administration found it impossible to protect them against the unwelcome attentions of local bandits. There is only one solution to this problem and that is to resettle these people in areas where they can be controlled. This has been strenuously tackled in the last four years and much has been done to alleviate this difficulty. I do not personally believe that there can be any real or lasting settlement there until the squatter problem has been finally sorted out.

I wish I had time to tell you something about our fighting forces out there; something of the combined effort of the Navy, Army, Air Force and Civil Police, but there is not time. I would only say that all the services play their part but it is only natural that the Navy's part is not great. The main brunt falls on the Army and the Civil Police, but I would make it clear that without the assistance of the Air Force, operations in Malaya would be very much more difficult. The Air Force can attack in three quarters of an hour targets located in the jungles that it would take a soldier or policeman three weeks to reach. Furthermore, without the supply by air which has been employed throughout the troubles in that country, it would not be possible to maintain troops in the jungle. The Air Force's contribution, therefore, has been very considerable. Though I would like to tell you about the Gurkhas, the Malaya Regiment, and others, I have only time now to mention the British troops. I can only tell you that I have the highest regard for the British soldier. I would not confine this to those who are members of the permanent forces but include amongst them the National Service men who are doing their period of conscript service in the Far East.

I would not leave Malaya without giving you a brief word on the life of the planter and the miner out there. As you are well aware, by its production of rubber and tin Malaya contributes probably more than any other constituent part of the British Empire towards filling the dollar gap. Much, therefore, rests on the effort of these planters and these miners. They live in constant and unceasing fear of death at the hands of the bandits. They move nowhere except under cover of armed escorts. In their homes, which are normally surrounded by barbed wire, you would never sit down—man or woman—without your revolver, tommy gun, and other lethal weapons, beside you on the table. I cannot say enough for their courage and I would take every opportunity of publicizing their difficulties and dangers whenever opportunity offers.

The situation in Malaya is better than it was a year ago, and it appears to me from what I can gather in the newspapers that this improvement is continuing. But as I have already said, the state of affairs there is really a reflection of what goes on outside, chiefly in China. Therefore, I would hazard the opinion that there will never be full settlement and quietude in Malaya until the situation in China is altered.

Korea is somewhat outside my terms of reference today, but nevertheless it has a very direct effect on the areas to the south of it.

Korea, to my mind, has illustrated the ineffectiveness of Russian tactics in battle. It is shown that bodies in mass cannot overcome bullets skillfully used by courageous troops. This may, I think, have caused the Russians to pause before plunging into a policy of total war. It may indeed have given the Western Powers a breathing space to prepare more adequately against Communistic aggression. It might not be too much to say that Korea, in itself, has been a very important contributing factor towards avoiding a third world war. Possibly one of the most interesting results of the Korean war has been its effect in retarding the spread southwards of Chinese Communist Armies into South East Asia. China may indeed have unlimited man power, but she certainly doesn't possess unlimited trained man power. Our identifications of Chinese in Korea has shown that many of them at least came from Chinese Armies that before 1950 were being employed on the Sino-Burma border. This, as I have already pointed out, may have given the French sufficient time adequately to re-organize and hold their own in the Far East.

Lastly, I would refer to India and the importance of that country in Far Eastern affairs. It is, of course, true that India has publicly proclaimed an attitude of neutrality, and this, of course, is an understandable outlook, until their interests physically clash with Chinese aspirations in that part of the world. If and when this happens, I do not see how India can sit back and take no action. It surely cannot be the case that she would no nothing if Burma fell under Chinese Communistic domination and China thus threatened the very borders of India herself. It seems to me that we should look to India as the champion of Western Democratic ideals in the Orient, and openly show that we will not remain disinterested toward Chinese Communist expansion in South East Asia. It is, therefore, vital to keep India in the Western Camp and one can only pray that if and when the test comes, she will be united, strong and equal to the situation.

In concluding, I would say that in South East Asia, as in other parts of the world, you have seen since the war a great surge of nationalism. It is perhaps understandable that colonial peoples must look forward at some stage in their evolution to becoming free autonomous states. We must accept this ambition and, if our policy of colonization is any good, we should try to assist in achieving its fulfillment. The trouble, of course, is that there are different opinions as to when a country is fit for self-government.

I personally do not despair of the British Empire falling to pieces. I believe these Colonies, as time goes on, can become self-governing, and, if we handle the situation properly, can remain self-governing within the British Commonwealth. Nor do I despair of the situation in South East Asia. There can be no lasting settlement in South East Asia unless we have a clear and unified policy laid down between the Western democratic people and the people in that part of the world. More especially is it of importance that Britain and the United States of America should work together towards a common end in South East Asia. It is only through the medium of such measures as those envisaged under the Colombo Plan for economic, scientific, and other assistance designed to raise the conditions of living and the standard of life that we can look forward to the solution of this vexed and complicated problem.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. H. G. Colebrook.

"THE FUNDAMENTAL LIBERTIES"

An Address by

MAYOR CHARLOTTE WHITTON, C.B.E.
Mayor of the City of Ottawa

Thursday, November 13th, 1952

CHAIRMAN: The President, Mr. John W. Griffin.

MR. GRIFFIN: Members and Guests of The Empire Club of Canada: "Whatever she does woman must do twice as well as any man to be thought just half as good." Our speaker, whose words these are, will have no trouble convincing anyone familiar with her wonderful record of achievement that she IS the equal of any man. After all, very few persons in one lifetime have been awarded the degree of Master of Arts, been decorated by the King, been Secretary to the Minister of Trade and Commerce, been indicted for conspiracy to libel, served as Mayor of a great city—and plowed a straight furrow.

Charlotte Whitton left Queen's University in 1918 with an M.A. and several medals for her scholarship. Since then she has received honorary doctorates from no less than four universities. She was created a Commander of the Order of the British Empire in 1934, received the Jubilee Medal two years later and the Coronation Medal in 1937. She has served as Director of the Canadian Welfare Council, as Canadian Delegate to the Social Questions Section of the League of Nations at Geneva, as consultant to the National Employment Commission, the War Time Prices and Trade Board, to two departments of the Ontario Government and to the federal Conservative Party.

In 1947 Dr. Whitton became very widely known as the author of a report on child welfare in Alberta, which she prepared for the Alberta Chapter, Imperial Order, Daughters of the Empire. As the result of an article on this report which appeared in New Liberty magazine the Alberta Government pressed charges of conspiracy to libel against Dr. Whitton. It also hastened to appoint a Royal Commission to see if she was right. The Supreme Court of the foothills province discharged her, the charge was withdrawn and the Royal Commission made recommendations that were substantially the same as those in the Whitton report.

Ottawa's first citizen, Dr. Whitton, contributed a regular column to the Ottawa EVENING CITIZEN and has written a bewildering number of pamphlets and articles on various social problems and even found time to publish a history of the timber trade on the Ottawa. Truly, she has done twice as much as MANY men put together. Scholar, author, social welfare pioneer and chief magistrate, Dr. Whitton may record as her latest achievement that she is the only woman who has ever been asked to address the Empire Club a second time—indeed a third time. Her speech before this Club two years ago was a stirring call to Canadians to go forward with confidence in their own capacities and pride in their great Imperial heritage.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I am proud to present Canada's most distinguished woman.

DR. WHITTON: Mr. President, Guests and Members of the Empire Club:—My first words must be those of humble thanks for your unsuspected gift of real fiction, touched with a good imagination, and the essential basic facts in respect to chronological events.

Now in speaking to you today on the subject I have taken, "THE FUNDAMENTAL LIBERTIES", we have been taught and we speak speciously of, the fundamental human freedoms—freedom of conscience, of worship, of speech, of assembly, of free government by people freely chosen by free electors, and we tend to think of each of these liberties as something deep, abiding, self-sustaining within themselves.

But they are not: they can not even be safely regarded as absolute rights, if human life itself and these very liberties are to endure. These freedoms can and do become vicious and destructive if enjoyed and exercised "on their own" and without the only controls within which they can be safe—the desire and the ability of each individual to discipline and govern, to control himself or herself within the divine dictates upon which our whole growth of western democracy is grounded.

"The battlefield is not in the institutions but in the spirit of man", Chancellor Gilmour of McMaster has put it. And there the weapon is the Sword of the Spirit, and the fact of the spirit of God within each mortal body.

> "Not in utter nakedness
> Nor in entire forgetfulness
> But the trailing clouds of glory do we come
> From heaven which is our home."

That heaven of Wordsworth was no illusionary realm beyond the sight of man; it was the sum total of the spirit, grace and mind of God Himself, the eternal, informing, inspiring, renewing spirit of the God of the Hebraic faith, indwelling in man in the fulfilment of the Christian incarnation. In this spiritual fact within human life lay the very fundamental regard of man for man since in the blind beggar, Bartemeus, in the man sick with the palsy, in the woman taken in adultery, there dwelt the same spark of the Spirit of God as flamed within the Emperor himself, and each, being in the image of God, had equal right to the love and service of man. From that truth grew recognition of the right of men to equality of living and therefore free and equal choice of whom they would have to rule over them and to free determination of the rules by which they would be governed.

And there began the evolution of a new way of life, the first slow steps of a democracy based on this regard of man for man, and in it liberty was born and flourished. I think it was William Hazlitt who put it in some such words as that the love of power is the love of ourselves while the love of liberty is the love of others.

Our first institutions of freedom sprang essentially from the intimate love of one for the other within the family, which enlarged into the tribe, and then to the clan, and finally to the community, the kingdom.

But what Burke epitomized, centuries later, early it was evident that "Liberty itself must be limited in order to be possessed." And because the basic beliefs and faith of men themselves proved weaker than the pressures upon them, the rule of law became essential to assure survival of the rule of love,—that is love in the broadest sense of good regard, and honest neighbourly dealing one with the other.

If and as men lose the power and the desire for this self-discipline, self-control and self-reliance, under divine guidance, as essentially members of the same human family, whether it be in the household, in the local community, in the nation or among nations, then as Dean Manion, of the College of Law, Notre Dame University, recently put it in a brilliant address, "Government moves in to take up the slack." And he adds, "government moves in, not as originally and fundamentally, to protect men from injury, one to the other, in their civil rights or under criminal offence, or to protect the people as a whole from aggression, but"—the words are Manion's, "as a sort of all-purpose, around-the-clock device to make men"—presumably—"happy from the cradle to the grave." Government then no longer remains a power and instrument, contained and retained within statute and administration.

"It," says Manion, "roams where it pleases throughout every walk of life and throughout every department of business. From workers to wages to materials, to product, the government is everywhere. We no longer have a government of laws: we have government by 100,000 roving all-powerful agents of government."

That is Dean Manion of Notre Dame.

Now, in Canada, at all levels of government, the multiplicity of what the French language so delightfully describes as "functionnaires" is even more disproprotionate in the proportion to which not only the executive details of government—and I am talking of government at all levels, Municipal, Provincial and Dominion, but the drafting, and to large measure, the determining of policy, are vested in the non-elective sector of the appointed official and the necessary hordes of subordinate staff.

And basically, why? Not because government has of itself sought this intrusion upon the freedom of living but because of the weakening of our moral sense, because of the decay of conscience, because of the bargaining and compromising with what each and every one of us who is not a moron knows to be right. The good, the right, the infinite—these we know, with sense and knowledge absolute, but we have impaired our own fundamental liberties of courage and honesty in finding the so-called "reasonable way," when this so often means that we do, what we "reason" will work instead of vowing to do what we know to be right and then willing that it shall work.

"Oh, your Worship, be reasonable, and take the middle way!" The middle way—when there is right on the right and wrong on the left? You can not take the middle way between principles.

And so one of the greatest guarantees of liberty, the sense of contract between man and man, between the citizen and the state, falters; and with that weakened there is no longer the desire to serve to the utmost of one's power but to suborn service to power and profit, and government is brought in to greater and greater degree, not to referee but to rule.

And, to quote Manion again, "Government does not create liberty, Government is the one persisting danger to human liberty."

Manion, a great modern American jurist, is but echoing William Penn, the founder of Pennsylvania, possibly the freest of all states in its early decades, the most jealous and observant of human dignity, human values and human justice which modern history notes. In the early days of his settlement in Pennsylvania, Penn warned that people who will not be governed by God will be ruled by tyrants.

And perhaps Woodrow Wilson applied Penn's warning in as terse and applicable words as one can find:

"The history of Liberty is a history of limitations of governmental power, not the increase of it. When we resist, therefore, the concentration of power, we are resisting the processes of death because concentration of power is what always precedes the destruction of human liberty."

What was the "Kaiserism" for which one million men of the Commonwealth gave their lives in World War I, and the United Kingdom suffered the first of the mortal wounds which now leaves the greatest force for moral good of the last century, stricken and uncertain of the power to rise again?

What was the Fascism, Naziism, Tojoism, for which the blood of our day was poured out again in fearful loss, the accumulated wealth of our western world and of a reborn Russia lavishly spent?

What is the imperial Sovietism which has replaced Kerensky's and Lenin's earlier revolutionary reforms against an equally cruel Czarism?

What is the Communism against which we are so arming as to arrest mankind's beneficent use of the wondrous revelations of the powers of the universe and bend them to destruction?

All these things which we have abhorred and fought in mortal combat, and which we are prepared to fight again, are what? They are merely the climax of the concentration of power in government, in a steady trend so subtle, and so apparently inevitable, as to be comprehended too late.

The history of the rise and fall of free peoples moves in a relentlessly identical pattern. First there is this decay of the courage and honesty of convictions, this sacrifice of principle to the so-called popular will, when it is more often the exploitation of the populace by those who would utilize its power.

Second, there is this steady march in of the governing power and administration of government, as the conscience and will and independence of the citizen slides out.

Third, government is suddenly realized to be in control not only of the Armed Forces of the realm but of all manner of transportation and communication, of the resources of public information, of the basic credit of the nation, of the marketing, and indirectly therefore of the production of forest, field, fishery and mine, of the regulation of internal trade by controls and priorities and the negotiation of foreign trade and therefore of the business and commerce of the nation and government. At other levels government intrudes more and more on the life of the people, in their shelter, in the movement up and down of the cost of their food and clothing, and the influencing of their education.

And the nation itself is but one concentration of power in a coterie of comparable concentrations internationally.

And with these concentrations in contest, even the free nation, so-called, through the growth and centering of power within its own government, takes on most of the characteristics of the force that the free state was originally destined and designed to deny and defeat.

It is a process not unlike immunization: large injections of the very same germ are absorbed to resist the disease, but if the body politic which receives the injection be not fundamentally sound and strong and the injections, wise, moderate and controlled, the result is destruction or death.

With a full sense of the responsibility of what I venture to say I aver that North America, particularly the United States, and to a disturbing degree, Canada, has come today dangerously close to such a stage in pursuing what was originally the single purpose of free peoples to retain their freedoms.

If we are to save ourselves from surrendering from within to the very destruction we are resisting from without, we are called to a new recognition of the fundamentally moral and spiritual basis of all liberty and perhaps the greatest of all the so-called freedoms—the liberty of honesty and courage in its pursuit and defence.

"To make your children capable of honesty is the beginning of education", Ruskin proclaimed, as the essental need in the England and Europe of his day, in which were rife all the depersonalizing influences of a nascent industrial and urban civilization. (A brilliant friend of mine says North America is destined to pass from barbarism to decadence without ever having realized civilization).

Surely, we Canadians placed as we are today, historically, geographically and economically, are now called to that honesty. We lie physically on the ledge between two of the greatest concentrations of power as human history has ever recorded—the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.

It is a triteness to say that we are the battleground of their threatened conflict: it is only truth to say that we are helplessly involved therein already. All our Eastern seaboard, all our Arctic frontier, and our North over which the U.S.S.R. is our near neigbour, they all sustain defensive and offensive works of terrible import, only nominally even under our so-called independent sovereignty. Destruction and conflict, deep and disastrous, will descend upon the Dominion within hours of these two world forces coming into conflict. Therefore Canada, more than any other power in the world, save perhaps Eastern Germany, must work for such a balance of power in the world as Britain exercised to assure peace for a century, a balance of power which will serve to check not only one but each of these powers, by enjoining conference and negotiation on differences and exercising every restraint against the provoking of war.

There is no one power in the world today strong enough to afford such a counterbalance. The great continent of Asia with more than two out of every five of the world's people therein, is itself in such a state of rebirth, torn so by the conflicting pleas of Communism and Democracy as a way of life to people who have but recently come to self government, that continent may easily serve to provoke conflict rather than to preserve peace.

The United Nations has been rendered largely impotent by the conflicts within it—it is rather an Assembly than a Union of Nations. NATO offers a reasonable counterpoise to a thrust north and westward but it is not a homogeneous body of maturity and power in working together. The Pacific and Orient lie uneasy and uneasily close to Canada. Any conflict there involves us, without any comparable check such as NATO upon sudden combative action.

What then, where and how can there be assured a federation of proven and common attitudes of strength of mind and purpose, courage of character, power of sacrifice and staying power to the ultimate to meet, to plan, to act with a common voice? History records but one such enduring alliance of such proven solidarity—the states bound in allegiance within the Commonwealth and Empire that own the Common Crown of our Sovereign Lady, Queen Elizabeth.

Is it not then service to the case of liberty, of courage and of honesty, to face the facts of the power blocks of the world today and for Canada, rich, strong, vigorous, pulsing with life, to bring without stint or scrimping, to the slackening strength of a mighty nation, weakened and wearied in freedom's wars but rich in wisdom, maturity and the wealth of just dealing, assurance that, within this proven brotherhood of free nations, she will neither falter nor fail in placing peace above the price of trade, and zeal for freedom, truth and good faith above the quest for gain?

I do believe, Ladies and Gentlmen, that that is what the people of Canada, speaking with no uncertain voice, desire the Ministers of this Dominion to carry to London in these days immediately ahead, and so alone will we serve and save the fundamental liberties that are above life itself.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Controller Ford Brand.

"PARVA SUB INGENTI"

(Small Under The Great)

An Address by

HON. J. WALTER JONES
Premier of Prince Edward Island

Thursday, November 20th, 1952

CHAIRMAN: The President, Mr. John W. Griffin.

MR. GRIFFIN: Members and Guests of the Empire Club of Canada: Our speaker today is the Queen's first Minister in the small province that lies in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. I would like to suggest the thought that, in the field of government, Prince Edward Island enjoys a great advantage over the large provinces by reason of its very smallness. It was Aristotle who said that the maximum population of a Democracy should be 10,000 because only in a small state could the officials of government maintain the desirable degree of contact and intimacy with the people. The rather delightful story is told of the visitors to Charlottetown who went to the Legislative Buildings in that city. On entering through the main door they saw a man standing inside and began to ask him some questions about the building and the province itself. Seeing that they were very interested he took them on a tour of the offices and the Assembly Chamber. Wishing to express their appreciation to their kindly guide one of the visitors offered him a tip. He declined, saying "There's no need for that—I'm the Prime Minister". I've no doubt that the same story could be told with its setting in Fredericton or St. John's, but one can't imagine it happening in Toronto or Quebec.

Gentlemen, when a title was being considered for Mr. Jones' address I suggested to him "Size is no Criterion". He refused this and I know now that he was right. After all, who wants to argue with Aristotle? Size *is* a criterion—and the advantage lies with the small.

Following an education at Prince of Wales College and six of North America's great universities, J. Walter Jones spent some years with the Department of Agriculture of the United States and served for a year as Commissioner of Conservation at Ottawa. He first became Premier of his native province in 1943 and has held that position longer than any of his predecessors. A noted breeder of Holstein cattle, Mr. Jones is in Toronto to attend the Royal Winter Fair and it is to this that we owe the privilege of having him with us today.

I don't know what he is going to tell us, but I don't think it is going to be what Mr. Kennedy suggested, which was that he was going to talk about the wonders of Ontario.

HON. J. WALTER JONES: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: I did not know whether the speech would be on the air, or whether I could talk right ahead, or I would have to read a manuscript. When I saw a book in our Library which set out the speeches given at the Empire Club, I concluded that I would have to write the speech out and have it in manuscript form.

When King George III proclaimed a seal for "The Island of St. John in America" in the year 1769, he decreed a motto taken from Virgil's Georgics, Verse 19, namely, *"Parva Sub Ingenti"*. The Island of St. John became in 1799 "Prince Edward Island"—named after the father of Queen Victoria and "Parva Sub Ingenti" was pictured as three saplings growing under a large tree, and was symbolic of the three counties of Prince Edward Island under the great British Empire. Later, when Prince Edward Island became part of Canada in 1873, the symbolism was taken as of the three counties of Prince Edward Island under Canada.

Today—I should like to describe to you the general advantages and disadvantages of being small under a great power.

Your Chairman has said it was an advantage to be small. I think I will perhaps tell you something which may make you conclude it is not an advantage to be small.

Most small entities are succored because they are small, but from the first, difficulties were heaped on Prince Edward Island.

When Major Samuel Holland, who fought with Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham, was appointed Surveyer-General in 1764, (shortly after the Treaty of Paris), he was given all the "land lying north of the Potomac River as far inland as His Majesty's dominions extend" to survey. He landed the same year on Prince Edward Island and conducted the first survey in America. I don't suppose he came there because we are the most important part of North America, but it seems in those days there were certain individuals who thought the Crown owed them something, and they had their eye on Prince Edward Island which they could divide and have a nice little chunk of land there. The Province was surveyed into lots of approximately 20,000 acres each. The sixty-seven lots were drawn for in a lottery in London in 1767 and, with the exceptions of small reservations for county towns and certain fishing rights, were given to persons who had real or imaginary claims on the Crown. There were terms and conditions, but, in 90% of the cases, the landlords did not carry them out. The quit rents were never paid to the Crown. Tenants of land had to pay what was demanded by the land owners, sometimes forty times the yearly value. Mostly, land owners refused to sell to the tenants, so that when Prince Edward Island became a separate colony in 1769, the colony was in a chaotic condition—riots were frequent—and the militia had to be brought in to keep the peace. For one hundred years, it was a fight against the absentee landlords in Britain. Legislation to effect sales was passed by the *little* colony and disallowed by the *big* nation who was their sponsor.

"Parva Sub Ingenti" was not a good condition when viewed from the standpoint of land ownership. They suffered because they were too small and they continued to suffer until 1873 when the Land Question was an important factor in bringing Prince Edward Island into Confederation.

I should not like to leave the impression that to be small in a federation of large states is always a bad condition. The small size makes for a government close to the people and public opinion easily influences every part of the administration. The goodness or the badness of politicians, clergy, civil servants, teachers—can be easily transmitted. Government "of the people—by the people" gets a better chance than in a larger area.

On Prince Edward Island there are concentrations of effort impossible of accomplishment in any large area. At the Royal Winter Fair—before our people got into the hog-growing game—I have seen Ontario running off for a number of years with all the prizes. We got into it, and of the ten first prizes in hogs, nine of them went to Prince Edward Island this year. It was just about as good last year and the year before, and we did not come in before that because you had a type of hog which we said was not right.

There are concentrations of effort impossible of accomplishment in any large area. It was the first province to clear up tuberculosis in cattle, in 1922. There are more certified seed potatoes than in all the rest of Canada. The province is kept free of Bacterial Ring Rot Disease and a province-wide campaign to clear out Ragweed is underway. Family Allowances were inaugurated on Prince Edward Island and Diesel Railway Engines on a complete scale were first tried out. Because it is small, it is able to do many things a larger place could not attempt. For example, the majority of people in every province—if given a chance to express themselves—prefer Standard Time to Daylight Saving Time and, in a province like Prince Edward Island where the population is homogenous, the Standard Time is the law. Prohibition of liquor persisted longer on Prince Edward Island than in any other place, and even yet, the voice of the people permits not too much freedom in liquor sales. The people rule because they can readily express their ideas through the ballot.

Because Prince Edward Island is small, the Federal Government cannot give it too much without appearing to discriminate against other small areas. BUT Confederation gave rights, privileges and obligations to all provinces regardless of size. Consequently, Prince Edward Island must receive the consideration due to her status as one of the contracting provinces.

When Canada promised British Columbia rail communications with Central Canada, it was carried out as soon as possible (and the population of British Columbia those days was smaller than that of Prince Edward Island). British Columbia got the railway immediately. When Canada promised Prince Edward Island "continuous communications" in 1873, it could not claim it was carried out until 1917—a delay of forty-four years.

The "continuous communications" promised, together with a loan of $800,000 to buy off the landlords were the two main points in the Confederation Agreement with Prince Edward Island. I should like to discuss both points with a view to determining whether our small size had anything to do with the way we were treated.

On entry into Canada, Prince Edward Island was given $45,000 a year in lieu of crown lands and a loan of $800,000 to buy off the landlords. Prince Edward Island owned no crown lands. Interest at 5% on the loan of $800,000 was deducted annually from the grant of $45,000. Only about $40,000 a year was collected from the sale of lands so that up until 1890, only the interest on the borrowed money was collected. After 1900, the condition was this—the land had been sold to pay the interest and nothing is now left—neither land nor subsidy. Prince Edward Island got no advantage by buying out the land but lost a lot of money—yet it still pays interest on the money advanced. Other provinces were given at first a minimum of $375,000 which was later increased, in lieu of public lands, but in 1930 the public lands were given to them and they still draw the subsidy. If Prince Edward Island was bigger, it might be able to effect the cancellation of the Land Purchase Loan of $782,402.33 and be repaid $45,000 a year since 1930, when the Crown Lands were returned to the other provinces. These amounts are certainly due Prince Edward Island and only adequate pressure remains to be applied. Here "Parva Sub Ingenti" appears to be a disadvantage.

We probably bought out 60% of those lands from current revenue before we borrowed anything from the Dominion, and we lost that too. We had thousands of Empire Loyalists come there and settle, and when they found they could not get free of the landlords, they left for other Provinces. We had other disadvantages. I don't want to complain too much.

Two representations were made to induce the Maritime Provinces to enter Confederation—

(a) A railroad to Central Canada was to be built;
(b) The Maritime Provinces were to share in the internal commerce of Canada.

The railroad was built but the commerce with Canada has not developed.

At the time of Confederation, the Maritimes were the fourth largest trading area in the world and they owned more than one-seventh as much shipping as Great Britain. Today, the trading has largely disappeared, giving way to the building up of industries in Central Canada. The Maritimers are only one-tenth of Canada's voting power—"Parva Sub Ingenti".

But, if the Maritimes suffer under Confederation, the situation is intensified in the case of Prince Edward Island. It was forty-five years before an adequate ferry was built and already the service is quite inefficient in handling automobiles and trucks. Apparently the lack of representation or lack of weight in the Government is responsible for the costly and outdated methods used in transportation of the Northumberland Strait.

The great error in vogue today is that there are no automobile-carrying boats apart from the great and costly ice-breaking carferry boat for automobiles and trucks. It is also a great loss to the public when scheduled fast trips on an automobile and truck ferry boat is denied them. If trucks cannot carry agricultural products to nearby markets in the neighbouring provinces and the United States, how can agriculture and fisheries survive on Prince Edward Island? How can trucks operate economically when there are no scheduled trips other than where railway passenger cars cross twice daily.

Much is being said and done about Labrador development. Millions go to subsidies on shipping down the St. Lawrence to Labrador and another million and a half to subsidize shipping around Newfoundland. Is it because Prince Edward Island is "Parva Sub Ingenti" that the only ship subsidy on Prince Edward Island, other than a ferry subsidy, is paid by the Province itself? Prince Edward Island is nearer than St. John's, Newfoundland, to some Newfoundland outports and nearer than Quebec City to places like Seven Islands on the North Shore and all points East to Labrador—we are only about 400 miles from Seven Islands, and we produce in quantity most of the food products they require there. Hundreds of millions go to deepen the St. Lawrence to transport the ore by a safe route, but who has urged an alternative quicker and safe route by a Chignecto Canal and the Bay of Fundy? I think a ship leaving Seven Islands would be down to New York before a similar ship could reach the International Rapids up the St. Lawrence. Policies of a big nation are not decided by small areas who are weakly represented.

In the case of Prince Edward Island, it must be said that it is located off one end of the country and outside the main stream of commercial activity. To succeed in playing a part in the Nations' affairs, communications must be constantly and efficiently maintained. There are ways of providing compensations such as special freight rates and subsidies. So extra subsidies have been paid but the standards of wages and prices of products are still much lower than in any other province. This is not because Prince Edward Island is "Prava Sub Ingenti" but because of its geographical position. It was recognized by the Fathers of Confederation that Prince Edward Island could not participate effectively in the Federation because of its isolation so that the bargain of continuous communication, winter and summer, was made.

The history of communications across Northumberland Strait since 1873 is that there was continuous agitation to have the terms carried out. In 1887 the Premier of Prince Edward Island refused to attend a Conference of Provincial Governments because, he said, the communications question concerned only Prince Edward Island and the Federal Government.

Premier Sullivan—and by the way he was Premier longer than I—appealed to the Imperial Government in London, and Sir Charles Tupper was sent over to oppose him. The general result was that Lord Granville suggested that Prince Edward Island get treatment similar to that accorded British Columbia—also a small amount was added to the Prince Edward Island subsidy and a new steel steamer "The Stanley" was built in 1887 to navigate the Strait. Later, in 1899, a second steamer named "The Minto" was built.

A tunnel was also mooted and some surveys made but the idea was dropped when the cost, $40,000,000, was announced. In 1908 Sir Robert Borden, seeking office, said "I believe the Prince Edward Island tunnel would be built out of one year of Liberal Stealings", and, after he came into power, announced a carferry in 1913, which was in operation in 1918 and which finally got the Prince Edward Island Railway widened by 1930. Later, two more excellent ferry boats have been provided and within the last few years the terminals at Tormentine and Borden have been satisfactorily improved.

The growing automobile and truck traffic is not being fostered. There are only two scheduled trips daily over an 8-mile distance. Until recently, freight carried in trucks paid a scheduled rate which hampered participation in mainland commerce. A vice-president of the railway wrote, "every automobile we carry is in competition with our own rail route"—so that the Railroad has now assumed the place that Canada should occupy in carrying out the terms of Confederation and apparently, has no intention of putting on practical scheduled and automobile ferryboats. That will only be accomplished when some politician—who needs our votes—will commit his Party to build automobile ferries, or better still, make the ferry a Publc Utility administered free of charge as a Federal Compensation for the Prince Edward Island geographic location.

A Toronto audience might wonder why we got mixed up in Confederation. Certainly, the Maritimes did not want Confederation; but Ontario wanted it badly because Confederation was necessary for her existence. Those who remember history know there was a Union government at that time, and there were 50 from Upper Canada and 50 from Lower Canada, and you people were very insistent that you had as much representation as Lower Canada. Later when your population got bigger than Lower Canada, you were just as insistent to have larger representation, and you could not get it. It was Ontario that approached the Imperial Government because she was clamouring for a readjustment of representation in the Union Government of Canada. Sir E. P. Tache, Premier of Canada, admitted that Confederation with the Maritimes was necessary to preserve British institutions and stated that—"if the opportunity were allowed to pass by unimproved, Canada would be forced into the American Union by violence, or would be placed on an inclined plane which would carry it there insensibly." The above does not agree with the popular notion that the Maritimes were permitted to join Canada and that they have proved a heavy burden ever since.

"In the middle of the last century the Maritimes were one of the World's greatest commercial powers, holding fourth place in registered tonnage of shipping. They had begun by building ships to carry their own produce and this still provided the backbone of the business. In addition, however, the vessels of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were engaged in the trade from Europe to the United States—to South America—the East Indies and Australia They carried coal from England to the East, guano from the Chincha Islands to England and France, petroleum from the Gulf Ports to Europe and South America and wool from Australia to England.

Prince Edward Island was neatly integrated in this Maritime economy. It people had retired largely from the sea and taken up farming. It had already become a highly developed and a specialized agricultural community. In 1867, it had approximately the same population, number of farms occupied, acreage and grain production as at present. Its considerable agricultural surpluses went mainly to supply the exporting industries of the neighbouring colonies."

I did not write the last two paragraphs. They are taken from the Report of the Rowell-Sirois Commission on Dominion-Provincial-Relations dated 1937.

Again, I quote—"There is no sufficient reason why the Maritime Provinces should not be doing now the shipping business they were doing in 1850. Indeed, the principal difficulty seems to be that most of this money contributed by the Maritime Provinces seems to have been turned against them for the purpose of creating channels of transportation designed to side-track them North and South (meaning navigation on the St. Lawrence River and bringing trade in through the U.S. Ports). The time has come for a careful audit of the trusts created by Confederation."—Dean MacKay at McGill University.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier, whose birthday was this date, said (vide Hansard 1912, p. 5859)—"Prince Edward Island has not profited by Confederation. For some years past it has been largely losing its population, by reason of its connection with Canada and going backward instead of forward. Its trade has been diverted from its natural channel, or a channel of trade which had been created—and in the process of many years the trade of the Island has suffered."

Although Prince Edward Island was and is primarily agricultural, as many as 550 vessels were built in one year. A nineteen-year-old Prince Edward Island boy skippered a home-built-ship across the Atlantic.

The supreme tragedy of Confederation is that the Maritimers lost their shipping. Apparently it was looked upon as a purely local consideration of no national significance and permitted to die.

Today, the need is for better ferries and more shipping. Policies should not be to subsidize bigger lines and routes and harbours and neglect the smaller, less inflluential places,—especially when there is a solemn contract to insure no neglect.

Sometimes Islanders wish they were not so "Parva Sub Ingenti".

What happens when a small entity is a part of a great entity? I will give some illustrations.

1. There is a Federal Grant for physical fitness. In the case of Prince Edward Island the share allotted is so small, it is not worth the cost of Collection. Consequently we take nothing.

2. When the last war broke out, it was decided that only airfields would be built on Prince Edward Island—other war plants must locate on the mainland; so that recruits and skilled workmen and their families were removed and after the war many did not return and there were no war assets or war plants to dispose of cheaply,—and I think the recruiting of Prince Edward Island and the people engaged in war work were the largest of any Province.

3. When the car ferry was sunk in 1941 no new ferry boat was provided until 1947. The whole economy of the Province was dependent on an old ferry boat built in 1917. The war was blamed for the delay. "Parva Sub Ingenti."

4. A railroad strike developed and was permitted to stop the ferry although it was specifically agreed by the Railroad that "The Vessels' Discipline Act" would take precedence over Labour Agreements in an emergency. The big government did not heed the cries of the little government and it might happen again. Too small again!

There is a fundamental weakness in the Confederation Agreement and it is this: The assumption is made that financial arrangements be determined by growth of population, rather than by the assumption of new responsibilities.

Well where do we go from here? It is too late now to talk of Maritime Union—the Confederation Pact killed that movement. We sit and hope that some day it will be agreed that the provinces will have equality of services. There is quite a variation at present.

It has been stated that the average earnings of male wage earners in the smallest province is about one-half that of British Columbia and Ontario. At the same time there is only one wage earner for every 10½ people while for Canada as a whole there is one for every 5 people. That is, with half as much yearly earnings. twice as many people are dependent on them. The low wages are bad but the lack of wage earners in relation to population makes it more unequal.

No more loyal people exist than the people of Prince Edward Island and I am sure they have now no choice but to play along in the present political set-up. "Parva Sub Ingenti" does not get us much now, but we hope that sometime our case will be recognized and we may be able to provide ourselves with goods and services similar to others. Then we shall rapidly increase in population, our properties become more valuable, and, our trade by sea and air in and around the food-deficient areas surrounding the Gulf of St. Lawrence, will cause consumers to refer to Prince Edward Island as "The Bread Basket of the Gulf", just as it is now known to tourists as "The Garden of the Gulf."

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Col. N. D. Hogg.

"A FAITH FOR THE FREE"

An Address by

HIS EXCELLENCY A. H. J. LOVINK
Netherlands Ambassador to Canada

Thursday, November 27th, 1952

CHAIRMAN: The President, Mr. John W. Griffin.

MR. GRIFFIN: Members and Guests of The Empire Club of Canada: Our speaker of today has had a most distinguished career in the colonial and diplomatic service of his country. Although born at The Hague he spent part of his childhood in the Netherlands East Indies, little knowing that it would fall to his lot some forty years later to surrender the sovereignity of these ancient Dutch possessions. In December, 1949, the Netherlands forces and the western European genius for government were withdrawn from the islands largely due to pressure from a third party who had no business being interested at all.

His Excellency has served in many parts of the world and has seen at first hand the terrible things than can happen when the sword of violence is unsheathed. His homeland was overrun by the Nazi fiends in 1940 and the terrible bombardment of Rotterdam in that year will ever be an affront to the decent men of this world. In the period that followed it was our privilege to entertain his Most Gracious Sovereign in Canada. A year and a half later the war-mad beast of Nippon stabbed the Christian West in the back and began his systematic rape of the colonial empires of the east. His Excellency knows at first hand what that era was like since his wife and two children spent three years in a Japanese prison camp. Any of you who have read Neville Shute's novel "The Legacy", will know what it was like, too, as that story was based on the prison-camp experience of a Netherlands lady captured in Java. It is an honour to present to this club the Ambassador of a great people who have been in the forefront of order, progress and the Christian culture of the West for so many centuries. His Excellency's topic is "A Faith for the Free". His countrymen fought for and won their freedom 400 years ago. They lost it for a time during the Hitler War. They know what freedom is. And if they lacked faith they would not have accomplished what they have. The Lowlands will always be high lands in the affections of us all.

MR. LOVINK: What should a diplomat talk about, if he is given the pleasure to do so, as here in your midst?

The safest way for a diplomat would be to follow the advice of your famous late Sir William Osler:

> "Look wise, say nothing and grunt.
> Speech was given to conceal thought."

Contrary to his advice, I would like to give you some of my thoughts in a speech.

These thoughts are quite common; will surely not bring you anything new; they might even weary you, but they form part of my absolute belief in the continuation of our way of life in our world, because I have seen the other one and fought against its principles for nearly twenty-five years in one way or another:

Totalitarianism and communism.

Your immediate question might then be:

Do I believe a third world war is unavoidable or do I believe that we will have peace in our time?

I could never answer these questions, for the simple reason that so much—if not all—depends on our peoples, our belief in ourselves and our power to hold our convictions and continuously act upon them.

For us, peace-loving citizens, living in a free world, international politics have become more and more complicated; events follow one another with alarming speed;

we feel ourselves submerged in an avalanche of propaganda, of words, of opinions, of reports and of speeches, both national and international, on the world situation, on the cold war as well as on the shooting war and on the possibility of peace, while, in the meantime, we prepare for a defensive war, to make certain that we can defend ourselves against the communist aggressor.

There is no doubt, the danger is grave, we must arm ourselves, not only in order to be strong to be able to defend ourselves, but also in order to avoid, if possible, an attack from the aggressor and it is up to everyone of us of the freedom-loving world to conserve world peace.

This is our just responsibility, but to resist or guard against the dreadful peril which threatens us, we need not only material resistance but—and not in the last place—we need spiritual resistance.

We should resist by implementing the fundamental principles upon which our society hitherto has always been founded.

These principles are the right of conscience, the human dignity of the individual, his personal liberty and his individual personality.

In his letters to his children, Whittaker Chambers, as we read in his book "Witness", writes that he sees in communism the forces of the concentrated evil of our time.

There undoubtedly is—as he remarks—a power in communism, or at least in the other world which presents itself as such.

The power of the communists, as he feels it, is that they hold convictions and act upon them with animal ferocity and cunning.

Whittaker Chambers calls this the same power that moves mountains and the unfailing power to move men.

He reminds us that there certainly is a definite tie that binds their kind across the frontiers of nations, barriers of language, differences in class and education, in defiance of morality, truth, law, honour and that they believe that the world should be changed into theirs.

According to him communists bear witness to their faith, a simple rational vision, and a faith that inspires men to live and die for it.

This leads him to the crux of this phenomenon that the communist vision is the vision of Man without God, of Man's mind displacing God as the creative intelligence of the world.

To combat this frightful vision and faith, it can and should be met by another and stronger vision and faith—OURS.

And here we find in "Witness" the reason why ours is stronger, when Whittaker Chambers points out that there exists, and will exist, in every man, however he may deny it, a hidden soul.

When a communist breaks away from the vision of the Almighty Man as he did, he feels he breaks away because he wants to be free:

Because

Freedom is a need of the soul and nothing else.

He who has carried the vision of Almighty Man without God, cries out now in his book that without a soul there is no justification for freedom and, rightly, calls out to us that the Western world has already the answer to communism, *provided that its faith in God and the freedom He enjoins is as great as communist faith in Man.*

Here seems to be what is required of Western man, with his European or his North American way of life, which are essentially the same.

Recently the British Secretary of State, Mr. Anthony Eden, said it so clearly in his speech before the session of the Council of Europe two months ago, when he talked about the urgency of defending the European way of life, the institutions of which are, and should always be, founded upon respect for men, which distinguishes our system from the totalitarian practices.

Freedom of the West rests in the first place on the conjunction in harmony and strength of the British Commonwealth, Europe and the United States of America.

Whittaker Chambers is right when he states that freedom is a need of the soul and that without a soul there is no justification for freedom.

That is just what communism tries to stamp out: man's soul, so that he has no justification for freedom anymore and even forgets what the meaning of freedom is.

Therefore it is all-essential that Western man in Europe and North America should work as all for one and one for all, as we now are trying to do, and maintain his vision and his faith as well as confidence in himself, act on it and live and die for it.

If communism can produce power that moves mountains, surely *we* can, if we continue to act as one for all and all for one, to the utmost of our ability, everyone in his own work, whatever it might be.

None of us will break away from *our* faith, because *we* are free.

Not long ago I bought the marvellous edition "Life's Picture History of Western Man", in which we see how toward the eighteenth century a new and distinct branch of the Western Man appears in North America, where, under new and different circumstances he proceeds to meet his own problems and solves his own destiny, reversing the historic trend in the twentieth century, when the Western man, with his North American way of life, returns to Europe as a mighty new force for the defence of Western civilization.

In the capstone article on the United States as the ultimate heir to Western Man's civilization, of the well-known scholarly writer John Knox Jessups, we read:

> "When Franklin Roosevelt in 1934 said:
>
> 'Our American frontier is on the Rhine', he felt obliged to deny he had said it. That frontier has subsequently been placed on the Elbe without objection.
>
> Instead of 'Gibbon's ten thousand vessels for the rescue of civilization', a new vehicle called the Atlantic Community now carries Western Man on his long way".

The Western Man of the North Atlantic Community, aims to organize security against intolerance, and claims the right to protect his philosophy of freedom, individually and collectively, with faith to gain peace through strength and faith that our institutions are able to ensure that freedom from fear and want, which is so ardently prayed for.

It is heartening and in harmony with everything we know and have experienced from Canada and its people that you and we, as many others, do not look upon the North Atlantic Treaty Organization merely as a military alliance but see that Treaty as an expression of the reality of the North American Community and of the determination to strengthen its free institutions, to promote conditions of stability and well-being and to defend the Liberty of each of the nations belonging to it.

Your eminent Secretary of State for External Affairs expressed himself so very clearly on that subject in his speech last year in June in a meeting of the Council of Deputies of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization where he touched upon the broader vision of the Atlantic Community and asked whether in these past two years we had not taken at least the first steps toward something much greater and more positive, a genuine community of the Atlantic.

We now very recently have heard again from Moscow that nothing will be left undone to destroy that coming Atlantic Community of Western Man and all those who live outside the communist orbit.

Moscow considers war inevitable among capitalist countries and asserts that one has to believe in miracles to think Japan and Germany will not break out of American slavery and rise anew in an effort to smash the United States.

The recent 19th Congress of the All Union Soviet Communist Party produced an open declaration of ceaseless political economic war on the United States and, for that matter, on the Western world.

The Soviet press announced a few days later that the Moscow-born World Federation of Trade Unions will step up its infiltration of labour ranks in "colonial and dependent countries", foment labour trouble wherever possible — especially in Western Europe—and promote such things as "hunger marches" and mass demonstrations in economically troubled countries, all keyed to the tune of hatred for the United States.

Only a few days ago Mr. Andrei Vyshinsky stated enthusiastically in a meeting of one of the committees of the United Nations, that the capitalist nations of the world were already at each others' throats and that things would get worse.

Indeed, the communist aim is to destroy our new community and is especially directed against the return of North American Western Man to Europe for the defense of Western civilization.

We know that that is just what Moscow fears and that the voice from Moscow, sowing dissention between Western Man in Europe and his brother across the Atlantic, is evil and full of passion through failure, because Western man from North America, who also calls his soul his own and has the same freedom and faith, returned for the third time to Europe for the defense of his Western civilization.

Why would communism with all its might try to sow dissension among us and compromise the Western man in North America with his brother in Europe by making him believe that the danger does not come from the East, but lies in being so closely associated with the United States?

Has it occurred to you that communism may fear our faith, the faith of Western man, joining hands for the defense of his civilization?

Faith in the justice and the rightfulness of our world.

The faith that is part of our being.

Faith in God and in the liberty of man.

Faith in the liberty by which we can surmount every obstacle in order to defend ourselves.

We have a right to have faith in our future, in our cause of freedom, in our destiny and in our civilization.

But we have the moral obligation to defend ourselves by every means at our disposal, material and spiritual.

Never for one moment under-estimate the strength of the communist hordes, whose normal state is the state of siege.

Never under-estimate the fact that the communist mind is one set on conquest and that its final goal always remains the domination of the world.

Never believe that they will give up quickly.

We are already at war, mostly "cold", but in Korea red hot.

It is up to us, however, through our spiritual strength, to build with a common aim and without communist interference, on our own future and, by our material strength, to prevent communism from turning this "cold war" into an all-out "hot war".

Our faith, which forms part of our soul, is a strength indeed, provided our peoples continue to act as one for all and all for one, with confidence and persistence.

So much depends now and in the years to come on the unity of purpose of our peoples.

Faith gives us the spiritual force and confidence that the "without God" will never have.

Because they do not have the right to own their own soul.

We have that right, that privilege, that good fortune and that possession, which cannot be replaced by all the gold in the world.

And that is the reason for *my* absolute faith in the continuation of our way of life, our world and our institutions.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. T. H. Howse.

"CANADA AND THE COLOMBO PLAN"

An Address by

NIK CAVELL

Administrator of the Canadian Participation in the Colombo Plan

Joint Meeting with the Toronto Branch United Nations Association in Canada

Thursday, December 4th, 1952

CHAIRMAN: The President, Mr. John W. Griffin.

MR. GRIFFIN: Members and Guests of the Toronto Branch, United Nations Association in Canada and of The Empire Club of Canada:

"O East is East and West is West and never the twain shall meet". The Colombo Plan, of which our speaker is the Canadian Administrator, is dedicated to the proposition that East and West *must* meet. The gorgeous East, which our forefathers held in fee, seeks a place in the economic sun. Self-interest alone requires that we of the West give every assistance at our command to the peoples of South East Asia. I say self-interest because if we don't help them the Russians will. Just as the departure of the Roman legions made ancient Britain and Gaul the prey of centuries of barbarian invasions so has the departure of the British and Dutch forces created a power vacuum in South East Asia. It is the task of the West, in which Canada plays a proud part, to make its former wards secure and strong—so strong that the new barbarians from Moscow will not be tempted.

When the Dominion Government needed a man to administer Canada's participation in the Colombo Plan they selected Nik Cavell whose world-wide business experience gave him unique qualifications for the job. Born in England, Mr. Cavell joined the Indian Army in 1913 and saw Great War service in Mesopotamia and on the Indian frontier. After 15 years without a home leave he was invalided out of the service with blackwater fever. Following a period of sheep ranching in South Africa he went home to England and was finally cured of the effects of his illness at the Tropical Diseases Hospital in London. He then entered the service of a great English business firm whose operations have given him first hand experiences of life in Europe, China, Japan, Manchuria and Malaya. When Japan began her march to glory—and to doom—Mr. Cavell was stationed in the East. His firm had to close its operations there and sent him to Canada where he organized a Canadian affiliate which he managed until he re-entered the public service last year to take up his present position. It is a pleasure to present Mr. Nik Cavell who will speak to us about "Canada and the Colombo Plan".

MR. CAVELL: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: It is very kind of you to offer me this opportunity of talking to you today about the Colombo Plan and our Canadian participation in it.

WHAT IS THE COLOMBO PLAN?

I do not know whose fault it is exactly, probably it is mine as much as anyone's, but there are in this country some grave misunderstandings as to exactly what the plan is, and so I will start out today by giving its brief background.

World War II left the whole of Asia in chaos. An area which, in modern times, had not been prosperous and in which the worst poverty in the world is to be found, naturally suffered very heavily from the impact of war. It is an agricultural area easily susceptible to disruption. Large areas came out of the war without any established government at all, and with various factions fighting to fill the vacuum which existed. The flow of capital from Western Europe, the United Kingdom and the United States into the area had ceased, and whilst that flow had never been large enough to create much social and economic progress, nevertheless it had provided the basis for much of the industrial and agricultural development which had taken place in the last hundred years.

The disturbances consequent on the war had produced a natural reluctance on the part of private investors to risk their savings in the area, and yet if that area was to recover even a part of its former stability and be restored to its key position in world trade, then capital had to be made to flow in again, and these countries had to be brought back into the orbit of world trade before a stable world system could be established.

It had also become more and more obvious that if the free world were to be kept in existence, it would have to be expanded and strengthened, and that could not possibly be done if more of the Asian countries disappeared behind the Iron Curtain, as China had done.

Because of the fact that three-quarters of the people of South and South-East Asia are members of the Commonwealth, the area is obviously one in which the Commonwealth is vitally interested. With such thoughts in mind the Foreign Ministers of all the Commonwealth countries met at Colombo in January, 1950, to consider what could be done about the 570 million people in that area, who make up one-quarter of the population of the world, and whose average diet, at that time, amounted to roughly twelve ounces of food grains a day.

This was a very significant and important meeting. It was the first time, for instance, that all the foreign ministers of the Commonwealth had ever met together in South-East Asia. It was the first time that India, Pakistan and Ceylon were attending a meeting of Commonwealth Ministers on a basis of absolute equality and from the background of new and absolute sovereignity and self-determination.

It was from this first meeting that the Colombo Plan took its name, and that name has no other significance than the fact that the meeting took place in Colombo, the Capital of Ceylon.

Arising out of that meeting, what is known as the Commonwealth Consultative Committee came into being. This Committee might be called the custodian of the Colombo Plan. It meets once every year to consider the progress of the Plan, to consult with the countries of South-East Asia as to the progress of their various projects for economic development, and to produce a written report of its activities and those of the member nations working out the Plan.

The Governments of the Commonwealth, through the medium of this Commonwealth Consultative Committee, have drawn up a practical plan of development for a six-year period from the middle of 1951. The Consultative Committee has met, so far, in Sydney, London, Colombo, Karachi last year, and meets next year in Delhi.

THE CAPITAL BACKGROUND OF THE PLAN

Although the Commonwealth Governments initiated this Colombo Plan, they did so in no exclusive spirit. It was contemplated from the very beginning that all the countries in the area, whether members of the Commonwealth or not, would eventually be invited to participate on equal terms in whatever plan could be devised. It was also recognized that the capital required for the development of South and South-East Asia was vastly greater than could possibly come from the Commonwealth alone.

It was always recognized that the Plan should develop in harmony with the work being done in South-East Asia by the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies, and it was hoped that the United States would become more interested and would, through the medium of its own organizations, such for instance as the Point Four Programme, put more capital into the area—and this has actually proved to be the case.

The programmes of development in the area called for a total investment of roughly 5 billion dollars. It was anticipated that over the period of the Plan, the utmost that the countries of the area could provide by themselves would be £784 million (roughly $2,252 million); £250 million (roughly $750 million) could be obtained by drawing down their reserves of blocked Sterling balances, and £834 million (roughly $2,502 million), or some 45 per cent. of the total, would have to be provided from other sources as outside aid.

As you all know, Ceylon, India and Pakistan hold large Sterling balances accumulated during the war years. By specific agreements with the United Kingdom, these countries anticipate that they will utilize roughly the equivalent of $700 million of these reserves in their development efforts over the Colombo Plan period. This was the British contribution to the Plan, and, considering the financial state of Great Britain over the last few years, it was a particularly generous one.

Turning now to the countries which have made grants, and converting those grants to their dollar equivalents for easier understanding, Australia has promised the equivalent of $75 million over the six-year period of the Plan, about $20 million of which she has already made available. New Zealand will give the equivalent of $9 million for a period of three years, and has already made about $3 million available. Canada contributed $25 million during the fiscal year 1951-52, and has now contributed $25 million for the present fiscal year, making a total of $50 million so far.

In addition, the International Bank has made development loans to India and Pakistan amounting to roughly $45 million. United States assistance has aggregated about $250 million, which includes the emergency wheat loan to India amounting to $190 million. The United States has also granted assistance to Burma, Cambodia, Laos and Viet Nam, amounting to $40 million for 1951-52. The Ford Foundation began operations in the area during 1951-52, and anticipates, I understand, an annual expenditure of about $5 million for a period of some years.

Foreign financial assistance, therefore, to Ceylon, India, Pakistan, other South-East Asian countries and the United Kingdom colonial territories has thus amounted to very roughly $400 million during the period covered by the first year of the Colombo Plan.

WHY THE COLOMBO PLAN AT ALL?

I think the next question we have to ask ourselves is why we engaged in this operation at all, and it is a question which is very frequently thrown at me.

It has been said that a nation cannot exist half-slave and half-free. World events today show that a free democratic world cannot exist half-fed and half-starved, and once again we are much concerned with the maintenance of a free democratic world. To maintain such a world, we fought two world wars, which contributed their own quota to the dislocation and chaos of our established social and economic systems.

Twice we have determined upon noble ventures in international co-operation. In the case of the League of Nations, our efforts failed and the result was World War II. The terrible results of that war are still so evident that I need not go into them today.

But it is well that we pause here and reflect on the fact that although we defeated in those two wars the particular brand of totalitarianism we were fighting at that time, we have since found no effective way of coping with the more sinister, diabolical, world-wide totalitarian force which bedevils the affairs of the world at the present time. It is well also that we remember that the free world has lost Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Albania and East Germany in Europe; and that Communism has made a great inroad in Asia by taking over the 500 million people of China, and is busy day and night softening up, and preparing, other populations ready for the day when they too can be made satellites of an ever-growing world of terrible totalitarian slavery of the human mind and body.

At San Francisco in 1945, we started out with great hopes on the new endeavour, not realizing that although we had destroyed the power of two successive waves of totalitarianism, a third was rising which would be an even greater menace to democracy and human freedom. We have now been reluctantly compelled to admit that the present totalitarians have no intention of co-operating with us in the foundation of the kind of world that we want, but which, quite obviously, they do not want at all, and we face the fact that the world once more has to be made safe for free men; that, insidiously, this terrible force is creeping up on us, and that, for the most part, we sit helpless when we need not be helpless, failing to come to realistic grips on a world scale with this clever, diabolical network of lying propaganda, of insidious intrigue which will destroy our free civilization unless we combine together all the remaining forces for good in the world, and go to work realistically to combat the ever-growing influence of totalitarian force.

When China moved behind the Iron Curtain and allied herself to the forces of totalitarianism, the free world lost a population of roughly 500 million lovers of freedom who could, and should, have been part of our free world, who should have developed the resources of their notoriously hard-working people in the development of a free people co-operating with a free world. That world absolutely cannot afford losses on this scale and if it is to survive, we must recognize that Asia, and particularly South-East Asia, stands today at the crossroads as never before in history, that they are for the most part Sovereign Nations who can still control their own destinies, and that the manner in which they control them is of no less consequence to us than it is to them. Once more the cause of human freedom is at stake. Within the last few years millions of men and women have been deprived of their liberty, torn from their homes and families, tortured and worked to death in labour camps. Once more Totalitarians lust after world domination and have shown clearly that they will use any methods to attain it: lying propaganda, the confusion of men's minds, the exploitation of every trouble spot in the world. They exploit poverty and human misery for their own ends, and always behind their activities is the threat of force which has erupted into war in Korea and Malaya; internal chaos in Iran, Egypt, and numerous other places. This constant background of the threat of force has plunged the world into the greatest armament race of all time. The free world must be prepared with a defense against this threat of armed aggression.

But at the same time it must put its own house in order. No longer can the plight of the great mass of the populations of Asia be ignored. No longer are they prepared to accept the deplorably low standard of living, which has been their lot for far too long; they are going forward, using such capital as they have, training their young men to positions of great responsibility and working towards a new future.

At the beginning of this year, I visited Burma, India, Ceylon and Pakistan, and what struck me most about all these countries, and particularly about India and Pakistan, was the new spirit I found there. They are now on their own. They have attained complete freedom and they realize that their destiny is in their own hands. They are determined that their future shall be considerably better than their past has been. They are working—and working with great industry and intelligence—towards a better economic future within the framework of their own philosophy. They are determined to remain free and not to fall again under the domination of any world power, and in this we must sympathize with them and help them, if we want to keep them in the free world we are trying to build.

It is an opportunity which can easily be lost unless we go about our approach to them in a way which they find acceptable. The first thing they ask of us, is that we shall treat them on a basis of equality. Their cry is: "We are people, even as you are people". Their second plea is that we shall recognize and respect their philosophies, religions and ways of life, and not try to make them copies of ourselves—which, firstly, they do not want to be and, secondly, could never be even if they did.

THE COLOMBO PLAN SO FAR—CAPITAL CO-OPERATION

Now let us see what the Colombo Plan has actually accomplished since it started in the middle of 1951.

Australia gave 8.7 million Australian pounds, divided between India, Pakistan and Ceylon. As far as possible, this aid was in the form of Australian commodities. 60,000 tons of wheat and 27,000 tons of flour went to India. 5,300 tons of flour went to Ceylon. To Pakistan, Australia sent agricultural equipment, mining equipment and items required for a general Public Works project.

New Zealand made grants of £250,000 each to India, Pakistan and Ceylon. They stipulated that these were to be spent on projects which would be of lasting value to the recipient countries. An all-Indian medical institute is arising as only one part of these New Zealand grants.

Under the agreement for the release of Sterling balances, the United Kingdom supplied such things as railway locomotives, agricultural tractors, commercial vehicles, machinery and other iron and steel products.

And now I come to what we in Canada did with our $25 million for the fiscal year 1951-52. We allocated this money: $15 million to India and $10 million to Pakistan. Let us look at the Indian programme first:—

The basic problem of the Indian economy is food—it would be more accurate to say, is the lack of food. In a good year, India grows roughly 45 million tons of food, and this is always at least 5 million tons short of her normal requirements. Also, we must remember that she has very few good years. Last year, for instance, she was faced with a very severe famine in Madras and also in Bengal. It is obvious that in a famine year, the 5 million tons of normal shortage can easily amount to as much as 6, 7 or 10 million tons of food grains, depending on the severity of the famine. To make up this shortage, India must dig into her slender resources of foreign currency and buy food abroad. A large proportion of the aid programme for India is devoted to the solving of this food shortage.

The Indian Government asked us for 10 million dollars worth of wheat to help her famine condition. It was never contemplated that the Colombo Plan should be a food relief measure, but, nevertheless, how could we refuse our Commonwealth partners, suffering from a severe famine? And so we resorted to the device of the counterpart fund. We sent the wheat and India created a counterpart fund of approximately its equivalent value in rupees, some at least of which she will obtain by the sale of the wheat to her Indian distributors.

From the counterpart rupee fund thus created, with our consent and co-operation, she devoted those rupees to the further development of the Mayurakshi dam project in West Bengal. This project will irrigate 600,000 acres of land. It will hold the Mayurakshi river in control, and this river will not again rush down in flood, drowing the peasants and washing away their homes, as it has done periodically for hundreds of years. When the whole area is settled and the irrigation is completed, at least 400,000 tons of food will be produced, which, as you can see, will make quite a contribution towards cutting down the 5 million-ton annual shortage.

Now if enough of such projects can be developed—and there are many others actually started or on the drawing boards—you can see how India is going about solving her food shortage.

India also asked us if we would lend our aid to another problem. The State of Bombay is a highly populated and very poor State. Its transport system has fallen into a dangerous state of decay. It is just as important in India to be able to distribute food when famine hits, as it is to have the food to distribute. It is also important that when you put people on the land, they should be able to get to local markets and exchange at least some part of what they grow, for the purchase of their normal needs.

All this was seriously disrupted in the State of Bombay. The Bombay Transport Commission has been brought into being under the control of some able Indians and a British general who had spent the whole of his life in Indian transport. But they were short of capital and could not buy the equipment that they needed to set up a proper transport system; and so, at the urgent request of the Government of India, we aided the State of Bombay and gave them $5 million worth of up-to-date buses and trucks. A large proportion of these are now actually on their way to Bombay, and, when they are in operation, not only will the State of Bombay be better able to handle famine should it hit, but the normal life of the peasants and other people of the State will be greatly benefited by these new transport facilities. Bombay is a great Port, and ample transport facility is the life blood of any port.

Turning now to Pakistan, we run into a different kind of problem altogether. When nations split, disastrous things happen to their economies. When Germany was split in two, her industrial half and her agricultural half became separated. Exactly the same thing happened when Pakistan split from India. India got most of the industry and lost the Punjab, which was the great 'bread-basket' of the old India. Pakistan got the bread-basket but no industry at all.

To balance her economy, therefore, she urgently needs industrial undertakings, and these she is trying desperately to establish. It must be remembered that she is the newest country in the world, having been in existence for little more than five years and having to start from scratch with absolutely nothing at all. When I was in Pakistan this year, they were showing me the tents in which the Government first started in Karachi, without even pencils, rubbers, paper and other elementals of a new government. Can you imagine a Government without paper.

When Pakistan and India split, one of the greatest migrations in the whole of human history took place. Roughly 14 million people moved; very roughly, 7 million Hindus moved south into India, and an equal number of Muslims moved north into Pakistan. I have no time today to dwell on the gruesome happenings of that terrible migration. It suffices to say that it left both countries with a huge army of starving refugees. Pakistan has roughly 7 million of them. Now 7 million refugees are a political menace to a well-established country. They are a major national disaster to Pakistan, and something has to be done about them. What Pakistan is doing, is to set up new areas of irrigation and to try to settle them on the land as quickly as possible.

One such area, and by far the largest, is the Thal area in the North-West Punjab. This is an area which will be irrigated from the Indus River. It is now a great sandy, thirsty waste. Thousands of miles of irrigation canals will have to be built, and every inch of those canals must be lined with cement. Houses have to be erected, villages built, roads put in—all requiring vast quantities of cement. It became obvious that the only practical solution was to build a cement mill right in the area. Fortunately, the limestone and other raw materials necessary are available. We decided, therefore, to assist Pakistan by building and erecting this cement mill for her, and this will take about 5 million dollars of her $10 million grant from Canada. The work is now underway, and we hope to have the mill out there and erected within two years.

If a nation is to be industralized, she must first know what raw materials she has—and this Pakistan did not know. We arranged with her for an Aerial Resources Survey of her country, and a Toronto firm, which took this contract, has now its men and 'planes in Pakistan actually operating on such a survey. Within two years, we hope to have produced a resources survey map, which will give indications of what natural resources are available and where they are most likely to be found. I do not think we could have made a better or more fundamental contribution to the future of Pakistan, than to undertake this job for her.

To any country trying to develop, communications are vital, and Pakistan was fortunate in obtaining a loan from the World Bank for the rehabilitation of her railways, largely for converting them from coal to diesel operation, because she can obtain fuel-oil but has no coal. Her tracks, however, were in a very bad condition, and thousands of miles had to be relaid to accommodate the diesels. Since we have a wood industry in this country, we agreed to give her nearly $3 million worth of wooden railway ties, to help her with this task. These ties will shortly be on their way to Pakistan.

In the Thal area, where we are building the cement plant, we are also assisting with the development of an experimental farm, from which it is hoped to supply the settlers with draft bullocks, buffalo, good seed and expert advice. We are supplying agricultural machinery, tractors, ploughs, etc., to a value of roughly $150,000.

THE COLMBO PLAN SO FAR—TECHNICAL CO-OPERATION

One of the very great needs of the whole of the South-East Asian area is men and women trained in various technical skills. Practically the whole work of the United Nations and much of the U.S. Point Four endeavour is devoted to that huge problem. The Colombo Plan also is working in this field. Canada gives $400,000 yearly to technical assistance work under Colombo Plan auspices and $850,000 yearly to aid the United Nations in its work in that field, and our Colombo Plan work falls into two parts: Capital and Technical, that is, technical experts going to Asia and, by far the larger section, people from South-East Asia coming here in search of training in all kinds of skills. In all, including training work we have done in Canada for the United Nations, nearly 300 people have been here for training in the last year or so. Their courses have covered a wide field: Agriculture, Health, Railways, Fisheries, Hydro-Electric, General Engineering, Administration, Geology, Education, Forestry and Statistics.

I want to mention particularly one field in which, I think, we have attained some success. It is vitally important that senior officials in South-East Asia be made aware of what we have to offer in technical assistance. Only if such men are prepared to co-operate can a satisfactory programme be evolved; and so we have invited various missions here, composed for the most part of senior officials who cannot be spared for more than three months or so. These missions have so far been composed of groups from India, Pakistan and Ceylon, who have toured this country looking into our facilities in such divergent fields as: roads and bridges, hydro-electric development, medicine and public health, and agriculture.

There is one mission I would like particularly to mention, which was not composed of senior men. It was a mission of 12 young Pakistani boys who had just entered the Civil Service of their country. They were all fine, clean-cut, young fellows. They started here with an interview with the Prime Minister who not only welcomed them to Canada, but told them something about his job in this democratic country. They saw members of the Cabinet and learned something of their jobs, and so they went down deeply, by interview and lecture, into all the ramifications of our federal government system. Then they toured the Provinces; they were particularly interested in Quebec and in seeing how we solved our two-language problem, because they have, not a two, but a many-language problem. They dug into our municipal problems, and so, from one end of Canada to another, they studied the workings of a well established democratic country. We kept them out of hotels as much as possible, and put them up in homes. The result was they made many friends with whom they are corresponding. I am reasonably sure that those 12 young men will enter on their careers with broader minds and an affection for Canada, which will last them all their lives.

This particular piece of our technical assistance effort did what I would like to be sure that the whole world-wide technical effort is doing: it made us 12 real friends in Asia.

THE FUTURE OF THE COLOMBO PLAN

Well, so much for what we have done. Now what about the future? We shall again give India some wheat, probably about $5,000,000 worth. I hope we shall be able to provide more assistance towards the completion of the Mayurakshi dam project.

We are working on the details of several projects for India and Pakistan, about which it is too early yet to talk, and we have entered into a fishing and refrigeration project for Ceylon, upon which we shall probably spend one million dollars before we are through, and we are looking at another project for Ceylon.

This business of working out suitable projects with our Commonwealth partners in South-East Asia is not an easy one. We have to take into sympathetic consideration all the time their shortage of top, well trained, personnel with whom we can co-operate. We have to remember always that they are proud, independent powers with definite ideas of their own about the needs of their people. They work from an entirely different religious and idealogical background, but we have with them the link of their faith and belief in human freedom.

One criticism frequently heard about the Colombo Plan and other programmes of aid to Asia, is that, compared to the problem, any aid we could give would be hopelessly inadequate, so why do anything?

There is one answer to that kind of criticism: it is, that all our aid is trying to do is to help these people help themselves. Always we must remember that they are using their own capital resources with ours on the same projects. We are only helping where we can and trying to give training and experts who can point the way. We have to be prepared fully to recognize, and to work with, the present trends of the whole Asian area. What are those trends?

TRENDS IN ASIA

Frequently we hear about the nationalistic tendencies of Asian people, but we need most carefully to examine these nationalisms, and if we do, we find them tending to seek out their ancient cultural backgrounds. They do not seem to be seeking nationalism as we Westerners understand the term. The followers of Islam, for instance, in every Muslim country—excepting only those under Russia's domination—are looking to, and trying to bring about, a resurgence of Islamic civilization and a co-operation between Muslim countries to blend and strengthen the Muslim world. The leaders of Burma today are a band of devout Buddhists. Mahatma Gandi, still the idol of India, was a devout Hindu and his teachings have had, and are still having, a profound effect on India's thought and development today.

All over Asia, and particularly in South-East Asia, there is an overwhelming tendency for these peoples, now free from Western domination, to return to their own indigenous cultures, and to endeavour to work out their destinies in their own ways. The Communists, of course, pretend to go along with them, but we know, and they are beginning to find out, that the final aim of Communism is the destruction of all indigenous cultures and the stamping out of all religions and every philosophy and ideal, except that of militant Communism.

Here is a wonderful opportunity for the free world, if only we can find the unity of purpose necessary to embrace it. We could make it clear, and stand by it as a cardinal principle, that the free world we are trying to bring into being and expand, is broad in its concept as well as free; that all cultures are welcome within it and can, once a part of it, develop in their own way their own religions and other philosophies to the full, consistent only with maintaining the personal freedoms of their peoples.

This, I feel, together with the material aid we are already supplying, would tend to attract our Asian brothers towards us, and would give us a free world policy and a cohesion, which is now so palpably lacking.

Gradually, under such a policy, we might begin to combat the effects of the flood of Communist literature which pours into the area, and particularly into India, at the present time. Literature which is obviously heavily subsidized and offered for sale on every bookstall, well printed, mostly in Russia, Czechoslovakia or China, and sold for the equivalent of five or six annas; whereas our Western books cost from five to ten rupees. There is not much doubt about which gets the most circulation!

If we of the free world could evolve a policy with which free Asia could really co-operate, there is still time to bring a vital free world into existence. Such a powerful world would have to be based on sound international law which encouraged and upheld the self-determination of all peoples and defended their right to maintain their own indigenous religions, cultures and backgrounds. But time for the creation of such a world is running short and before we can have such a world, we Westerners must search our own souls. We must shake off our apathy, forget our arrogance and broaden our minds. We must find a way to give our Commonwealth partners, in South-East Asia particularly, a sense of really belonging to our free world. We must try to capture the minds of the youth of Asia with ideas that are more dynamic than those of the totalitarian Communism they are imbibing today in their millions.

If we are prepared to admit for one moment that our free world has no dynamic ideal which can compete with Communism, then we may well also admit that human freedom and our Christian civilization have no future. The truth is, of course, that in freedom and democracy we have a dynamic challenge to Communism which can defeat it utterly, but only if we realize in time that Communism can win simply by our default, by our lack of the will, determination and, above all, the understanding of the situation which faces us.

Unfortunately, we must be prepared for war lest the modern set of totalitarians attack us, but let us also fully realize the terrible nature of modern war and the fact that it could deal a blow to our civilization from which it might not recover for a decade. But if we seek, whilst there is yet time, to lay plans for a free world which will attract and not repel our free brothers in Asia, we can become so strong that the Communist world will not dare to attack us. The Commonwealth has a great part to play in expanding and holding together the free world.

The fact that the Commonwealth has 6 times as many Asians in it as it has Westerners, shows clearly the great part it can play if only we can win their support and real co-operation; and, without their support, a continuing Commonwealth is meaningless and a free world with real strength impossible of attainment.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. Norman Rogers.

"THE PULSE OF WESTERN EUROPE"

An Address by

DONALD M. FLEMING, Q.C.,
Federal Member for Toronto-Eglinton

Thursday, December 11th, 1952

(Mr. John Cowan presented a copy of "CANADA'S GOVERNORS GENERAL, 1867-1952", to the Guest Speaker.)

CHAIRMAN: The President, Mr. John W. Griffin.

MR. GRIFFIN: Before introducing our speaker I want to say a few words about our Year Book. The important place the Year Book holds in The Empire Club programme was illustrated just a month ago. We received a letter from one of our members, from which I quote: "I am an old man, well on in my 100th year. . . . Have not been able to attend meetings of the Club for years, but I do enjoy the book of addresses. . . ." Two of our guests at this table today are Mr. T. W. Best and Mr. Douglas Best, whose firm produces the book for us. Without their very generous help it would not be possible to have a Year Book at all and I am happy to have this opportunity, on behalf of our one thousand six hundred and ninety-seven members, to say 'Thank you'.

My Lord Chief Justice, Members and Guests of The Empire Club of Canada: "The duty of the Opposition is to *pro*pose nothing, *opp*ose everything and turn out the government." This succinct, if somewhat facetious statement was made by a member of the Mother of Parliaments over a century ago. It expresses in words one of the great glories of our way of life—the existence of Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition with their duty of voicing constructive criticism of and maintaining close surveillance over the actions of the government of the day. Our speaker today is one of those who fulfills his parliamentary duties in the highest traditions and can proudly recall that Pitt and Disraeli, Gladstone and Churchill have also known what it was like to sit opposite The Treasury Bench.

Donald Fleming received his early education in Galt, won the Governor-General's Gold Medal at Varsity and graduated from Osgoode Hall Law School in 1928 with two awards for his scholarship. Following political experience as School Trustee and Alderman in Toronto he was elected to Parliament in 1945 and re-elected in 1949. He is not only a Member of Parliament but a student of Parliament and was a Canadian delegate to the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference in London in 1948 and to the recent Conference in Ottawa. He made extensive tours of Europe in 1948 and again in October of this year.

I now call on "Dr" Fleming to feel "The Pulse of Western Europe".

MR. FLEMING: Mr. President, My Lord Chief Justice and fellow Members of The Empire Club of Canada: I must confess to you at the outset that I face this meeting with some degree of trepidation, not because you are hostile, but because of a cold and strain to my vocal cords, my voice departed over the week-end and has only been coming back by degrees.

I thank the President for his very warm welcome, and you for your reception. Coming from the shades of the Opposition at Ottawa, it is a novel, refreshing experience to be greeted in this way. It is a very great honour that has been done me in being invited to address our Club today and share with you some of the very interesting experiences of my trip this fall to England, Germany and France.

When it was my privilege to speak to this Club last, just four years ago, it was following a more extensive trip through Western Europe. At that time I spoke to you on the subject, "Where the Iron Curtain Falls", drawing principally upon my observations in Greece and Berlin. This time the trip was less extensive, but grippingly interesting. I haunted Westminster for a week, with conferences with some of the leading figures in British public life; I spent three days in Paris in conferences of a similar nature, and four days in Germany.

It is a simple matter now to visit Central Europe compared with four years ago. Instead of flying into Berlin, as I did in 1948 with the RAF airlift, one flew this time on a commercial plane to Dusseldorf, and drove from Dusseldorf to Bonn and Cologne over Hitler's autobahn. I had a visit in Bonn and Cologne, then a drive of 200 miles through the pleasant German countryside up to Hanover, where I spent a very interesting evening with Brigadier Walsh, discussing the experiences of the Canadian 27th Infantry Brigade.

The following morning I saw something of the Brigade, and from there proceeded by plane to Berlin; had a couple of days in Berlin, and came out via Frankfort and Paris. I was exceedingly fortunate not only with appointments but also with the weather. After the unhappy experience of Canadian aviation in the weather of recent days, you will be surprised to know that during all my experience in Europe every plane I used left on time and arrived either on time or ahead of time.

Central European affairs are a matter of increasing importance for every Canadian. There is no escape from that fact, and to an increasing degree those who are called upon to hold positions in public life will have to be prepared to devote time and study to external affairs. It is particularly important for those who sit in Parliament because year after year External affairs are occupying a more important place in debates in the Canadian House of Commons. In visiting Western Europe then I was going in search of first-hand information, and I think I added considerably to the impressions that I had formed beforehand.

To feel the pulse of Western Europe, it seems to me today one must go to Britain, Germany and France. It may be that in feeling the pulse of any particular quarter of the globe that pulse will shift. I think in recent years it has taken a decided shift toward Germany. In any event, what I have to offer you today is based upon a feeling of the pulse of what is still the most critical sector in the world. We attach a great deal of importance, of course, to what has been going on in Korea and South-East Asia, but much of our concern there is attributable to the fact that we fear the weakening of our position in Central Europe, for that is, after all, still the most critical area in all the world today.

In sharing with you these experiences I may not be able to cover all the ground, but I would like to say something of such subjects as economic recovery, the risk of war, the future of NATO, the strength of Communism, the political future of Western Europe, and perhaps some of its probable influence on our own country.

The economic recovery of these three leading nations of Western Europe is impressive to anyone who recalls conditions of four years earlier. In all three production today exceeds pre-war production. That is particularly striking in Germany, when we recall that the production of Western Germany exceeds the entire production of pre-war Germany. The cities are brighter, the people have a more cheerful outlook. Food in Germany appears to be ample, food in France is plentiful; food in Britain has improved very considerably in four years, although the Old Country still is very short of meat, butter, cooking fats and other things.

There is no unemployment in these countries today except in certain pockets, of which perhaps Berlin is the most conspicuous. The shops are on the whole well stocked, but there are yet many serious problems on the economic as well as on the political front. In measuring this heartening progress let us never forget the part that has been played in it by aid from the United States. I was there four years ago, and it was possible to see the beginnings of the working of Marshall Aid in the economic life of these countries. The United States has played an important role in this return of economic strength to these countries.

Now may I tell you something of Germany. I well remember as an undergraduate of the University of Toronto in 1921 hearing a very interesting lecture by Professor Hodder Williams entitled, "The Return of the Turk". He opened his address with these dramatic words, "The Turk has returned." It would be equally true today to say that the German has returned. No one can visit Germany today without being very deeply impressed with the evidence of recovery in Germany, and without the very profound conviction that Germany is going to be an influential factor in shaping the events of the world. The people are hard at work. There are no labour troubles in Germany. After the first World War United States capital contributed much toward German recovery; now it is largely due to the efforts of the Germans themselves, that they are enjoying a return of economic strength. This has been an achievement of hard work on the part of the people. They are working long hours. They have known that hard work is the only way in which they can achieve their economic salvation. The production in the Ruhr exceeds the pre-war production of that part of Germany, and along the autobahn they are bearing their products to the world. In the fields one sees the German families at work gathering in the harvest of potatoes and turnips. Dusseldorf is becoming the financial centre of Germany, and has enjoyed a measure of repair of the great war damage done.

Bonn before the war was a quiet University town. It sustained terrific damage from air bombardment, and it was now chosen as the seat of government because there was a supply of available buildings. Government missions have been exceedingly cramped, with one exception, and that is the Mission of the United States which has built some buildings, around which one may drive with awe and wonderment. The civilian staff of the American Mission at Bonn totals 4,000. I saw the Bundestag and Bundesrat. As you know, the German Parliament is a bicameral Legislature; the Upper House contains representatives from the various States. The new Germany is organized on a Federal basis, and West Berlin is included as one of the States in the Bundesrat.

Berlin itself in the division of responsibility among the victorious Allies became an island in the sea of the Russian occupied zone of Germany. You will remember, apart from the substantial areas of Eastern Germany which were assigned to Poland, about 19 million Germans remained in the zone occupied by Russia, and about 49 or 50 million in the zones occupied by the Western Powers, but Berlin itself is an island in the Russian zone. It is approximately 130 miles from the British zone.

I looked forward with more anticipation to my visit to Berlin than any of the other cities, because I can never efface from my mind the memory of Berlin in 1948 at the height of the air lift. If Britain and the United States had not stood firm at that time in the face of that open challenge from the Communists, the course of history might have been entirely different, and we may thank those in office who had the courage, both at Washington and London, in those fateful days to stand up to the Russians and say they would not be forced out of Berlin, for the fact that we have today NATO and the position of growing strength in Western Europe.

These, Gentlemen, are the impressions I formed of Western Berlin. First, there has been tremendous progress since 1948. Goods in the shops are plentiful. Food is reasonably sufficient. There is an infinitely greater supply of fuel than there was then, and there has been substantial progress with rebuilding. I told you when I addressed you four years ago that I went into one Ladies' Dress Shop in Berlin, and found there were two women's dresses in the shop. I told you of a boot and shoe store where a supply of boots had just arrived and people were lined up in a queue. I told you of a chauffeur who told me his sister had had a pair of boots on order for 1½ years. The stores now are well stocked, the goods are of excellent quality, and the prices are the lowest I encountered anywhere, and might be the envy of any one of us at this time of Christmas shopping. And the shops are bright—they are lighted. Four years ago there were no lights, and they put candles in the windows of the shops at dusk and tried to carry on with them.

The Kurfürstendam, Berlin's Fifth Avenue, at night is ablaze with lights. You don't realize that the lights come from shops that occupy the first floor of the buildings, and in place of the upper floors are the skeleton walls standing. The ruin to be seen in all parts of Berlin is still appalling, even in the face of reconstruction. A greater number of bombs were dropped on Berlin than on all the British Isles, and the unhappy evidence is still there.

The people are calm and vigorous. They look happier than four years ago. They are well clothed, and look reasonably well fed. Air transport has improved very much. The national air lines of almost every country in Europe are operating into Tempelhof Airport in Berlin. There are, of course, no German air lines as yet.

Unemployment is a very serious problem in West Berlin. There are 300,000 unemployed out of a total population of 2¼ million. This, of course, is the fruit of Russian policy. The recovery of Western Berlin has been slowed by the Russians who control all means of land access into Berlin, and they allow only 19 trains a day to go in. I looked over the railway tracks in Berlin and was amazed to see two shining tracks, but the rest of the tracks are rusty. The explanation is that the Russians allow 19 trains a day and no more. All other cargo must come in by costly air operation.

Building materials are scarce. Much of the rebuilding that has been done is the result of the use of brick from damaged buildings, which has been covered up by a brown stucco. The Germans seem fond of this brown stucco on buildings.

I can assure you the horrors of the Russian occupation, after the Russians took possession in the spring of 1945, have not been forgotten by the Berlin people, and I doubt if they will ever forget the record of burnings, rapings, and shootings that went on.

The paradoxes still remain in Berlin. The original Russian War Memorial stands within the British Sector. Every day Russian troops march to it through the Brandenburg Gate to post and relieve the sentry on it. In 1948 the French Tricolour flew from the top of the Franco-Prussian War Memorial. In 1952 it was missing. I was struck by that and asked the reason, and I was told the French, as a generous gesture, pulled down the Tricolour on the last day of the airlift.

To go into the eastern sector of Berlin is a fascinating experience for anyone. There is no trouble about entering the eastern sector. I saw no barricades. The problem, of course, is in leaving that sector. I may say I drove through the Russian sector of Berlin in a car from the Canadian Military Commission, and those magic letter, "C.D." (Diplomatic Corps) give one entry into the sector. The first thing one encounters is a sign reading, "You are now entering the democratic sector of Berlin", and the last sign which one sees on leaving reads, "End of the democratic sector of Berlin." Of course we are not unfamiliar with the way those beautiful words, "Democracy" and "Peace" have been prostituted by the Russians to serve evil ends.

The next thing which one encounters is the profusion of flags and bunting. The Russians do not put up just one; they simply plaster the whole front of a building with red bunting and red flags, of course, with the hammer and sickle. Pictures of Stalin confront one on every street, and, of course, there are others of the top ranking leaders—I saw Gottwald of Czechoslvakia, Mao Tse Tung of China and others.

Communist shops have been introduced into the eastern sector of Berlin—what is known as the Handelsorganization or "H.O." Shops, where those who hold cards of the Communist party are permitted to shop and purchase at low prices. The Russian grip is everywhere to be seen in Eastern Berlin, and the picture is a much less impressive one than in Western Berlin. In the midst of this slower progress in Eastern Berlin, however, they have set up one showpiece on a street quaintly named "STALINSTRASSE", one of the largest housing projects in all the world. It will cover blocks upon blocks of that street. It is in various stages of construction, from completed sections down to blocks still littered with rubble. And this is going to be used by the Communists in their propoganda in Europe, and no doubt Canada also, as a showpiece. I can only say it is far from representative of conditions in Eastern Berlin. However, this is quite an imposing looking building project, and, of course, I asked who will be the fortunate persons who will enjoy places in apartments, and I was told they would go to Party workers and Activists—activists being those who do more than their assigned output on the Assembly lines.

How are these buildings built? Of course there is a certain amount of labour there all the time. I was told artisans also are "invited" to work on this big building by formal invitation. What happens is a pat on the shoulder and an invitation to contribute his next Sunday or holiday to work on this housing enterprise on Stalinstrasse, and if there is any hesitation there is always the reminder, "What will the Government think of you?" "Thou art not Caesar's friend" has been a compelling form of coercion from the days of Pontius Pilate.

The Imperial Palace has been demolished and has given way to a parade ground in the Russian sector.

I saw something of the famous East Berlin police. I saw them on traffic duty and I saw a truckload of them passing. One can't help but be struck by the youth of the East Berlin police. They take lads into the force at sixteen years of age, and it is not to be wondered at that there are shooting incidents. There are many escapes even from these police over to the Western sector of Berlin every day, as well as many other escapes. You will appreciate there is no way for these people to leave Berlin by land: the only way they can leave Berlin is by air.

Now what of France? There is no rationing in France. There are goods apenty, but there is probably some of the most acute inflation in the world today. Production is greater than in pre-war days, but this does not mean that everybody is working hard, because I am told they are not. France is still suffering heavily from the effects of two wars—loss of nearly 1½ million men in the First World War and 600,000 in the Second. She is still suffering from the effects of the German invasion. The fear of war in France is very, very great: they know the horrors of German occupation, having so recently experienced it, and they have a great fear of what they know to be the inevitable Russian occupation should a war come soon. People still dislike paying taxes, but on the other hand, there are men of high character in the French government. Unlike the situation before the War, there are a number of men who are practising and professing Christians. I am told that Ministerial corruption has disappeared at the higher levels. France has always leaned to the development of the mind rather than to the cultivation of the highest spiritual qualities.

France is being bled by the war in Indo-China, which has been a staggering drain on France's limited supply of men and resources. Half of the French Army is in Indo-China today, and it is the better half. Those divisions in Indo-China are seriously needed to strengthen the French Army in metropolitan France. Casualties have been heavy among French officers. France had a great deal of financial assistance through the Marshall Aid, but is is worth recalling that Mr. Acheson, in giving testimony before a Congressional Committee a year ago, did say the expenditure of France on the war in Indo-China has exceeded the help that France has received in Marshall Aid.

What of the strength of Communism in France? Four years ago the Communists were making their greatest open challenge. Bloody riots and strikes were aplenty. The situation is, I am happy to say, very different today. Communism has greatly waned in strength in the past four years. There are many evidences of this. In the first place, the French are still completely individualists;

they reject all thoughts of regimentation. How else could you explain how they drive in Paris? In the second place, it is still the ambition of every Frenchman to own land. He has seen so much of inflation, that he looks upon land as the greatest hedge to inflation.

Politically,—while Communist candidates polled 26% at the general elections in 1951, we should not assume that 26% of the electorate is Communist, because many in so voting just took a chance. Notwithstanding the fact that Communist candidates polled 26% of the vote, the numbers elected dropped from 180 to 100 in that election.

The Communist influence in French Labour has also been reduced. Four years ago the principal French Labour organization, La Confédération Général du Travail was completely under Communist domination. Since then that great French labour leader, Léon Jouhaux, who has done so much to wrest French Labour from Communist influence, led the non-Communists out of La Confédération.

In the next place, there are internal divisions amongst the Communists in France. And next—and this is a factor of striking importance,—outside of a handful of able and popular leaders, the Communists have no men of outstanding ability in the French Assembly.

Here is one striking fact: the circulation of L'Humanité, the Communist daily, which at one time exceeded 500,000 copies, now has dropped to 200,000.

In face of these facts Moscow has instructed the French Communists to make common causes rather than fight everybody.

What about General DeGaulle? We can never forget the debt we owe that brave, if arrogant man, for the way he led the French forces of freedom at a time when there were few enough Frenchmen ready to continue the fight against Hitler. Those who followed him in post-war elections were something of a conglomeration. I am told many of those who were his most ardent followers were very anxious to redeem themselves in public life. Nevertheless, his political influence has been definitely weakening. The fact that he has been unwilling to co-operate with any other parties in the French Assembly has closed every door to Ministerial office to his followers. As a matter of fact in a stormy session of General De Gaulle's followers the story is told, General De Gaulle was berating one of his followers, saying to him, "Without me, Monsieur le député, what would you have been?" The reply was "A Minister."

The North Atlantic Treaty, of course, is little more than two years old. I visited its headquarters in Paris, and there had an opportunity of an extended conference with Lord Ismay, the Secretary General. The following day I had the good fortune to meet the other outstanding figure in NATO, General Ridgeway, its Commander-in-Chief. The temporary quarters of NATO are a temporary building, erected in 1951. As we sat there conversing in Lord Ismay's office, showers of dust came down on us, as the wind blew the insulating material through the walls.

These facts may be of interest in connection with the development of NATO. Lord Ismay did not want to go to NATO, but he yielded to Mr. Churchill's persuasion. He went there because he felt NATO was the only way to peace. There is close co-operation between Lord Ismay and General Ridgeway. After General Eisenhower retired, General Ridgeway was appointed field commander only. The Council answers for the government and for all civil governmental relations. The Commander-in-Chief has no problems of that nature on his shoulders. The United States would have wished Lord Ismay to have been appointed as Director General instead of Secretary General, but he thinks this would have been fatal.

NATO is making progress. It is gathering momentum, and as Lord Ismay said, "Just let it grow." "The trouble is everybody, every day, is trying to stir up the seed and pour in more water, just to see if it is germinating." There is a great need of public support.

You will be interested to know that the staff of NATO numbers 250. The Canadian Delegation staff numbers 22, headed by Mr. Arnold Heeney, enjoying Ambassadorial rank. The delegation of the United States numbers 1,100, including three ambassadors.

I was greatly privileged to visit the Canadian 27th Infantry Brigade. In the light of what we are reading in the papers, I wonder if it would be amiss to recall some simple facts. The first is that the role being fulfilled by that Canadian formation is a role unparalleled in Canadian history. Never before has a Canadian Military force in time of peace been sent into another country in a role other than an occupying role, and it was hard for the Germans to understand that the Canadian forces were not coming as occupying forces for Britain and America. This meant that Brigadier Walsh had an unprecedented role to play. Relations with the Germans have been made more difficult by the initial failure of the Germans to understand that the Canadians were simply coming there to strengthen the forces of defense in case of an aggressive attack by the Russians; but nevertheless relations have steadily improved. It is perhaps unfortunate that the Canadians were put down with the Germans in the section they were, for the Hanoverian's are the most dour of all the Germans, and also that they came to Germany around Christmas. The result was much homesickness. The Canadian Brigade is just 45 miles from the boundary of the Russian Zone; it is just 45 miles straight down Hitler's autobahn.

The quality of the Canadian Brigade is best attested by the fact that everyone of the British Divisions in Germany, including the flower of the British armoured forces asked that the Canadian Brigade be attached to it. The co-operation between the Canadians and British has been excellent. The appearance of these Canadian troops would make any Canadian proud. They look fit and smart.

Now a word about the conduct of the troops. I may say to you at once that the stories that have been circulated in this country concerning the conduct of the troops are very much resented by all ranks of the Canadian Forces in the 27th Infantry Brigade. There have been a few incidents, of course, but these have been much magnified. If the Canadians go about their duties, and no incidents and misconduct of any kind occur that does not make news. But if there is the odd incident, that does make news, and often headlines.

The Canadian troops are fed on British rations, but they have been given twice as much meat as the British forces. They are young: 80% of these Canadian troops have had no service in either of the Great Wars.

I have not time to go into the subject of recreation, except to say that Brig. Walsh initiated a programme of education of the troops, because so many of them have not had a full Public School education, and ten hours a week have been prescribed as public school education for those troops who have not had a full public school education. In some companies as many as 70% have not had that much education. This education has been carried on by instructions of subalterns.

One word about the arrival of the squadrons of the Royal Canadian Air Force. On October 11th, 67 Sabres arrived at Metz in perfect formation, and were given an enthusiastic reception by the press, the authorities and officers of NATO. I just missed seeing them.

When we are accustomed to seeing Canadians given a great reception everywhere, I think I should say this to you. The wife of the Canadian Ambassador in Paris spoke to her cook, an intelligent woman, telling her of the arrival of the squadrons of the Canadian Air Force expecting that woman to react enthusiastically. Instead of that, the woman said nothing and her eyes filled with tears. Such is the fear of war in France today.

German Rearmament is one of the most important questions before all the world today. We would have every reason to be afraid of German rearmament if we were not so directly confronted by the common Russian menace. No one would have thought of sponsoring German rearmament had it not been for the way Russian aggression has proceeded. Germany possesses the greatest available pool of manpower in the West. The burden of defense borne by the British has been very heavy indeed, and they look at Germany and say, "Why should not the Germans take a big share of this burden we are bearing at such heavy cost today?" The Germans have not been unaware of the strength of their bargaining position, and they are exacting advantage. We have been seeing steps taken for ratification in the Bundestag of the rearmament contract.

Now, Gentlemen, I have less time to say a word about the United Kingdom than I should wish. There are those who say that Britain's best days are past. There are those who have forgotten the sacrifices that that noble country made in bearing the heaviest share of the burden of war among all the nations that were involved in the Second World War. They have forgotten while others were expanding their plant, Britain's civilian industrial plant was becoming daily more obsolete, and they have forgotten too the weight of the load Britain has had to carry in defense of the world, the defense of many parts of Asia in the years since the war; they have forgotten that Britain has lost nearly all its overseas investments. I am here to express to you, my friends, my belief that the best days of Britain are not past, that the best days of Britain lie before her! She is faced with huge problems, some of which we hope may have some ray of light shed on them at this conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers that is proceeding in London today, which simply must succeed. We must not under-estimate these problems, but remembering that no nation has been called upon by destiny to fulfill the beneficient role for all mankind that has been thrown upon the shoulders of Britain, no one can think for one minute that the role of such a nation lies in the past. If I thought that for one minute, I would despair of the future of the world. Without British leadership the future would be black indeed. She is going through great difficulties, she has immense problems, but I think she is going to surmount them with the same spirit of resolution and courage, that has enabled her to triumph over so many trials in the past.

Emerson truly said, "the British always see most clearly in a fog."

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. D. R. Michener.

Christmas Meeting

featuring

"Christmas Eve at St. Gabriel's"

A One-Act Play Produced By
STERNDALE BENNETT

Thursday, December 18, 1952

CHAIRMAN: The President, Mr. John W. Griffin.

MR. GRIFFIN: Seeing this noble pudding carried in brings to my mind a paragraph in an amusing little book by Eric Nicol, from which I quote with apologies to his publisher, The Ryerson Press,

"An English dessert is still hard to beat. Nothing lands in the stomach with the solid thud, deeply gratifying to those parts of the body that don't have to digest it, of a treacle tart . . . the phlegmatic nature of the dessert calls forth the superlative and inevitable custard under which it lies, like a body under a cloak. French desserts —cheese, fruit, pastery—lack this body, and for me the ties of Empire and Commonwealth are forever cemented with rice pudding."

The annual Christmas Party is one of the most important occasions in The Empire Club year and it is customary for the President and his executive to start planning for it as soon after they take office as possible. In our case we first considered today's meeting back in June and originally the Committee thought only in terms of having one of the many fine Church choirs from the Toronto area. However, one member of our executive, Dr. C. C. Goldring, Director of Education for the City of

Toronto, suggested that we should try to have a Christmas play instead of a choir. This idea was enthusiastically received by the Committee and Dr. Goldring was asked to see what he could find. The result is the presentation we are about to see and we are all very grateful to Dr. Goldring for the great deal of time and keen personal effort which he has put into today's meeting. It is a great pleasure to call on Dr. Goldring to tell us about, "Christmas Eve at San Gabriel's".

DR. GOLDRING: Most people in this room have heard the traditional Christmas Story annually from the days of childhood. In times long past, the story of the Birth of Christ was usually presented to the people in a somewhat different manner and with a different emphasis from the familiar story of to-day. We are going to see a play dealing with the Christmas Story in a little Mission in California, approximately one hundred and seventy-five years ago.

To-day we think of California as a large, wealthy state noted for its glamour, its fine climate, its fruits, its oil, fish and lumber, for being the salad bowl of the North American continent, and for its many other attractions, not the least of which are its mountains and its fine scenery. But California has become thickly populated only in recent years and was admitted to the Union only in the year 1850. The first American emigrant train did not enter the state of California until 1826. However, the coast of this state was known to Spanish and English explorers who made brief visits to it at various times during the 16th and 17 th centuries, and about the middle of the 18th century small numbers of Spaniards came to live more or less permanently along the coast. In 1769, Franciscan monks founded the first mission in California at San Diego, and soon after other Spanish missions were established.

San Gabriel Mission, the scene of our play, was founded in 1771 and is located only nine miles from the heart of Los Angeles. It is still used at a church to-day. As one steps through the gate in the brick and stone wall surrounding it, one is transported to an old-world environment. Flocks of pure white pigeons hop around at one's feet. Among the many indications of its long history, one sees ancient candle and soap factories, sacred paintings done by early Spaniards and Indians with paints made from coloured soils and extracts of plants, and the old vestments used by priests long since departed. Many Indians and members of California's first families are buried within the Mission walls. Six of the statues in the church came directly from Spain in 1791, and the baptismal font was a personal gift of King Charles III of Spain.

But to-day we are concerned with the observance of Christmas in this ancient Mission about one hundred and seventy-five years ago. A few Spaniards and Indians then lived in that neighbourhood and under the direction of their priests the Christmas Eve observance is taking place. Let us, in imagination, transport ourselves back nearly two centuries to this old Mission on the Pacific Coast and look in on their Christmas Eve celebration.

THE PLAY

"AMERICA, BRITAIN AND CANADA—THE 'A B C' OF DESTINY"

An Address by

RABBI ABRAHAM L. FEINBERG

Thursday, January 8th, 1953

CHAIRMAN: The President, Mr. John W. Griffin.

MR. GRIFFIN: Members and Guests of The Empire Club of Canada: Our guest today is one of Canada's outstanding preachers and public speakers. Born in Ohio, Rabbi Feinberg was educated at the University of Cincinnati and did post-graduate work at Chicago and Columbia Universities. His academic honours include membership in Phi Beta Kappa. After serving in New York City. Denver and other American cities Rabbi Feinberg was called to Holy Blossom Temple, Toronto, several years ago. As the voice of Canada's most prominent Jewish pulpit, as a contributor to national publications such as McLean's Magazine and as a frequent speaker over the radio he has become known throughout this Dominion. Rabbi Feinberg takes a very active part in public affairs and has been a keen participant in the field of civil liberties, in interfaith movements and on such bodies as the Red Cross Executive and the Toronto Symphony Orchestra. While his official biographical sketch modestly omits mention of this, I have learned that his interest in music is more than a formal one. Our guest possesses a magnificent singing voice and I have been told that it is a wonderful and inspiring experience to hear him chant the prayers of his ancient faith.

An American citizen himself, Rabbi Feinberg is a firm friend of Great Britain and believes that the Old Land must regain its former stature in world affairs if peace and order are to be restored.

It is a pleasure to present Rabbi Abraham L. Feinberg.

RABBI FEINBERG: On April 9th, 1867, Sir John A. Macdonald wrote privately to a friend that in four days he would sail for Canada with the Act uniting all of British North America in his pocket. That is how Canada came to birth—in the pocket of its first Prime Minister.

The B. N. A. Act was not an *"act"*, whereby a people willed itself into sovereign existence through a dramatic deed, like the American revolution; it was a careful arrangement of *words*, which expressed a peaceful agreement. Canada resulted from the fact that men could effect a meeting of minds; it is the child of compromise, the offspring of an "arranged marriage".

In one phase of Canadian life after another, that formula can be observed: the merger of two forces, by compromise and balance.

First, of course, is the contract between the Catholic, French, Latin culture of Quebec, and the Protestant, British, Anglo-Saxon culture which dominates the rest of Canada. This obviously has been a union of convenience. But, even during the nine years of my residence in this land, I have seen progress in mutual understanding.

The second merger is that of provinces and federal government. The allocation of authority set down in 1867 may not not be valid for 1953. Times have changed, with them the requirements and scope of government. How is Canada confronting the issue of provincial versus central authority? Again, by meeting of minds, through conference.

Third, is the partnership of sovereignity, as an independent nation, and sentiment, as a member of the British Commonwealth. Alone in the Western hemisphere, throughout two continents, Canada has preserved a tie with its European parent. That link is the *central fact* of our existence.

In the beginning, Canada was torn apart by two contradictory loves; one is called *geography,* and the other *history.* Let us examine them. On the one hand, the Canadian people wanted to build a way of life suited to a stern and stubborn land, and confronted by great physical obstacles. That is geography—a continent chiefly of wilderness and forest and tundra, the earth under our feet. At the same time, the majority of Canadians respond to the traditions enshrined in the Old Country. Sometimes, just because British Canadians felt isolated in the frozen wastes of the West and exiled from their centre overseas, they drew all the closer to it in spirit, and became "more British than the King". . . . That is history, the pull of the past.

This mutual dependence of Britain and Canada was dramatized by the visit of Princess, now Queen, Elizabeth and the Duke of Edinburgh. Why did that event excite such emotion? Are not the Queen and her Consort human beings like ourselves? Yes, they are! Even regarded simply as human beings, the Royal household of Britain has shown superior quality. At the centre of world acclaim, which makes every little act of their lives the material of public attention, yet they are modest, self-restrained, sacrificial, generous in spirit and extremely hard-working. That is why King Farouk of Egypt once said: "In my life-time, only five kings will remain on their thrones: the four kings in a deck of cards—and the king of England."

But even devotion to people and duty does not explain why the King's death and his daughter's visit evoked such affectionate interest. The reason lies in the fact that they stand for something. Not what they *are,* but what they *represent.*

Queen Elizabeth—and the late King, of course— symbolize the historic saga of Britain—all that it was, is and may yet become. Her Majesty is Magna Charta and the rights of man; she is Admiral Dake and the dogged courage of the British fleet; she is the study-halls of Oxford, where countless generations have sought truth; she is Shakespeare and the earthy tang of English speech; she is St. Paul's Cathedral, Westminster Abbey, the Bible open for reading in the lamp-lit kitchens of humble homes; she is Parliament, mother of democratic institutions; she is the colonizing will that has built an Empire; she is the indomitable fortitude and faith of a civilized people under the barbarism of the Nazi blitz. . . . She is all this and more besides!

That saga became flesh, it took on life—in the person of Elizabeth. There stood England! All the Canadian people were aware of it. . . . The pull of history! . . .

But her visit also high-lighted what Canada has done with geography! Suppose we compare her visit, a little more than a year ago, to that of her father, the late King George VI, in the early summer of 1939. Then Canada had just begun to emerge from a decade of depression, deflation and unemployment. Wheat, lumber and nickel were selling below production cost; bankruptcy, shut-down and relief rolls had become commonplace. Only the most optimistic and obstinate voiced confidence in the future.

Twelve years later, the King's daughter came to a land which had contributed a full and honourable part to the war against Nazi Germany, a land which not only recovered but made enormous strides forward economically, politically, financially and in prestige among the other nations of the world, with a quadrupled national income, an industrial production tripled, mineral resources that give immense promise—and a position of moral leadership in the U.N. councils.

As a part of the British Commonwealth, our role was enriched by Elizabeth's tour; it tightened the link of history. But a comparison with her father's visit proves how far we have progressed, as an independent power, in the conquest of our geography. . . . We are a sovereign nation; just because of that, we recognize and renew our voluntary role in the British Commonwealth.

That alliance with the Commonwealth never relied on compulsion. Britain was a marine empire, far-flung over the seas and oceans. Such an empire survives only as it gives its constituent parts the maximum measure of autonomy. A huge land-mass imperialism like Soviet Russia, or Germany under Hitler, can compel satellites to obey its bidding, because they are contiguous extensions of space and territory. We have seen how quickly armies can move across borders into control of weaker neighbouring states! But a sea-power like Britain had to establish a *spiritual* tradition and evoke *inner* loyalty; its foundation rested on moral, not military, force.

The British Commonwealth of nations has been a unique example of freedom without separateness, of independence and inter-dependence, of local patriotism and larger co-operation. On the world level, it has been a balance-wheel for stability, carrying forward into world affairs the pattern for peace, by serving to mediate between the United States and the Soviet Union. Washington and Moscow, with all respect to their power, are newly-rich parvenus in diplomacy and statecraft, as compared to the British Commonwealth. A tragedy of the modern world is the economic and political disability of Britain, in relation to both United States and Russia, with a consequent decrease of her influence.

At this hour, one of the greatest services Canada can perform is to strengthen the moral status of Britain, by affirming her support of British moderation, by joining with the mother-land in the unswerving quest for peace despite the impasse between the United States and the Soviet Union and by contributing every possible aid to British economic rehabilitation. It is dangerous to have the world divided between two competing titans! A *third* strong power, dedicated to the ways of statecraft, can save the world from a war.

When Britain occupied top-rank among the nations on earth, Canada mediated between her and the United States. Today, Canada, allied with Britain, must build a bridge across the gaping emptiness between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Is not Canada a Middle Power? Even there, we occupy the middle ground. A small population, the lack of colonies, prevents us from becoming a major power, arrogant and bristling with guns, an object of fear and envy. On the other hand, natural wealth, strategic position, human resources, lift us beyond the rank of a minor power, such as Mexico and Sweden.

That position—*in the middle*—enables Canada to take a positive role in the search for peace. Unless this country is resigned to the role of Belgium in World War Three, as the "innocent bystander" caught "in the middle" between the jaws of an all-crushing nut-cracker, it must devote itself to the urgent role of "middle-man" for peace. Just as we have brought opposites together, and found a basis for co-operative compromise within our own country, balancing French Catholicism and British Protestantism, provinces and central government, geography and history, the British Commonwealth and sovereign independence, conservatism and progress, sparse population and vast territory, farm and city—so does the twentieth century beckon Canada to serve as a middle-man for the salvation and security of mankind.

Yesterday President Truman warned the Soviet Union, and the West, that the H-bomb can destroy our world. If this Hell-bomb escapes the control hitherto exercised by the will to peace, it will leave the corpse of civilization to the blind moles under the ground, and to the Hottentots of the African jungle, who have nothing to make them a target for its destructiveness. In the manufacture of that bomb, Canada must contribute certain crucial ingredients. For the Atomic Age, we are the best-equipped nation in the West, endowed with fabulous riches that have been sleeping in the bosom of the earth for aeons, awaiting the use and challenge of this hour. Vast wealth—iron, gold, copper, cobalt, titanium, nickel, uranium—magic sesames to power in the second half of the twentieth century!

These metals and minerals are not just pawns on the chess-board of the Stock Exchange, to be manipulated for private profit. They are a *sacred responsibility* for which history has summoned Canada.

Shall we supply the arsenal for the suicide of civilization—or be the instrument of its redemption? The only way to evade that choice is to seal up every mine in Canada, forget about these resources God has given us, and act as though they did not exist! The United States is profoundly conscious of the present power of its industrial production—the mightiest on earth; Canada must become aware of the burdens imposed by the *potential power* of its natural resources, and employ it for peace.

We are eager to enjoy *what peace makes*; we must be willing to pay for *what makes peace*. Like every good, peace has its price. For Canadians it means sharing our wealth with the poor of the earth—in the Orient especially. I have no time to enlarge on that today. My theme is this:—for Canadians, the price of peace means courage—unflagging courage, to insist that we shall continue to serve as an agent of conciliation. That inevitably involves further support of Britain, to assure her recovery as an agency for moderation in the world.

There are certain psychological handicaps, however. Canada is afflicted with an inferiority complex. Why? Hugh Maclennan ascribed this to the time-lag between Canada and the United States. Our Southern neighbour's industrial revolution was generations before Canada's, and her political revolution beat the B. N. A. Act by almost a century.

Furthermore, the three chief racial groups in the country became Canadian with resignation, as a result of defeat in war or politics. The French in Quebec were abandoned by their King in the 18th century, and thereafter retreated into a solid fortress of fidelity to a departed past, with an unbroken grip on their cultural and religious inheritance. The English fled from the American rebels of 1776 to the north, driven by their frustration and their unbroken will to uphold the Empire. They, too, sustained their morale on the traditions of a beloved past. The Highland Scotch, as Hugh Maclennan says, were ousted from Scotland after the Jacobite Rebellion, so that the English lords might have hunting space. They had nowhere else to go—but Canada. For a long time, they also were satisfied to nurture their souls on what *had* been, in the old world, again—the past.

This longing for the past can deny the present, and retard the future; it may breed over-caution, clannishness, resentment toward the newcomer and suspicion of change. The British people are inclined to *understate* themselves; that is a highly-civilized and admirable tendancy. But Canadians go beyond that, to *underrate* themselves.

John Fisher, CBC commentator, in an address some months ago, pungently urged Canadians to be more like the Americans south of the border. In some matters, I agree: for example, more flexible, demonstrative, social relations between racial and religious groups; the breezy, informal American may have something to teach Canadians there. That, however, along with other faults, like youthfulness, will be "cured" by time. The impact of the new immigrant elements on Canada, who now form 20% of the population, will loosen up the barriers of snobbery and stuffiness. Also, I believe that the absence of a written documentation and guarantee of individual rights, like the U.S. Constitution and Declaration of Independence, is a handicap. Some day it may be corrected.

Yet, as an American citizen and at the risk of being accused by Senator McCarthy of subversive opinions, I urge you never to let Canada become a carbon-copy of the United States.

Prospects for our world are grim enough. They will not be brightened by standardized monotony, in which everybody drinks the same coloured pop, eats the same pre-digested breakfast food, sings the same infantile rhythms and listens passively to the same sporific pap as do most of the citizens in the mightiest land on earth. The most valuable gift Canada can bestow on mankind is not her minerals—but *Canadianism,* a unique quality of heart and mind, a way of living and looking at life different from any other. There is no people or civilization on earth today worthy of slavish copying. A first-rate American has a responsible job in the world; an imitation-American merely adds a decorative appendage to the wheels of the American chariot. However great the accomplishments of the United States, she has not completed the fulfilment of the human struggle. There are still problems in human relations to confront, diseases to conquer, art-works to create. Just as a Canadian scientist discovered insulin, so Canada tomorrow may hew out paths, by being *herself*, to a better life .

Canada is more directly important to the United States than any other nation: her best customer, her most plentiful outside supplier, the area of her largest investment and a strategic land-mass between her and the Soviet Union. Even if absorbed into the States, Canada could do no more for the big Southern neighbour than is being done now—and Canada would do far less for mankind.

According to the Report of the Massey Commission, the time has come to set about the task of developing a Canadian "personality". In the schools, a counterpart should be found for the Fourth of July. Canadian history is hard to glamourize, just because its theme is reason rather than revolution, and compromise instead of conquest. The accents of reason don't lend themselves to militant oratory! That merely sharpens the challenge. In striving to give zest and drama to the Canadian story, educators are challenged by a problem that is worldwide—to match the tawdry "romance" of war with the *true romance* of conciliation.

History text-books draw their patriotic tone and colour not from the over-all saga of Canada, but from a respective locale or region. Quebec exalts one hero, Ontario his opponent! Provincial patriotisms are not the the answer to the lack of Canadian patriotism. Our country must be regarded as a unit, once riven by internal war, now welded by common interest. What happened in the 18th century is merely a record of the dead years. The resentment of the defeated, the arrogance of the victorious, are both futile burdens of memory.

This is a *nation of minorities*; no one group dominates the other. Less than half of Canadians are British by descent, 30 per cent. French, 18 per cent. other Europeans, and the rest a mixture of Asiatics, Africans, Indians and Eskimos. Then what is a Canadian? Do we all have the same economic status? Certainly not! The same language? The same religion. The same centralized authority in all questions? . . .

Then what does give Canada some semblance of unity? The *common life together* of many peoples from many lands, speaking many tongues, nurturing many cultures! It does not easily fall into words. But seen in practice—despite civil conflicts and internal strife—Canada slowly stands forth. What infinite diversity we find here! The Cape Breton cod-fisherman in his lonely dory; the coal-miner of the Maritimes, digging three miles out under the ocean; the Newfoundland seal-hunter scanning the icy waters; the parish farmer of Quebec, loving the land which sustains the body and the church that comforts the spirit; the blue-denimed mechanic in the smoking automobile plants of Southern Ontario; the Americanized city-dwellers along the soft southern rim of the Dominion; the research-scientist working on cancer or soil-erosion in a university laboratory; the prairie wheat-king reaping his golden domain from a tractor to feed the world; the fruit-grower of the Okanagan Valley; the frontier missionary carrying God's word to Indian and Eskimo and white prospector, the gold-seeker at Yellowknife, the bush-pilot on Hudson Bay, the lumber-jack of British Columbia, the fur-trapper and trader and nurse and physician and mounted-police—who free a sprawling continent from the clutch of the primitive, hew out a path for civilized living, build a nation and keep it intact over thousands of miles of stream and mountain and forest and plain! Why, Canada is a man-sized job, and it takes all kinds of people to do it!

Recently, I read a passage from the book, "The Canadian People", by Lorne Pierce. May I recite a few sentences, my friends? Here they are. "There can be no Confederation if there is to be a religious test. There can be no Confederation if it is more honourable to preserve a traditional way of life than to enter whole-heartedly into the living, throbbing life of the present day. There can be no Confederation if democracy is invoked in peace-time and flouted in war. There can be no Confederation if one language is regarded as the voice of heresy and the other the voice of God. There can be no Confederation if schools are not free, free of the blight of religious fanatics, free to search for truth and honour it when found. There can be no Confederation if lodge and sect, labour unions and board of trade, party and race deliberately foster prejudice."

Mr. Pierce then declares, "The people know this" . . . The people know this! Do they? *Do you*? If so, Canada has a grip on tomorrow. As a leading Middle Power whose whole background is compromise between clashing traditions and the fellowship of diverse groups, linked by unbreakable spiritual bonds to Britain and by profound respect and admiration to America, Canada can be a blessing to mankind. God give her the vision, the wisdom, and the courage!

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. R. A. Stapells.

"FRONTIERS OF THE FUTURE"

An Address by

GEORGE L. STEWART,
President, Imperial Oil Limited

Thursday, January 15th, 1953

CHAIRMAN: The President, Mr. John W. Griffin.

MR. GRIFFIN: Members and Guests of The Empire Club of Canada: On a cold and wintry day in February, 1947, a large group of officials, newspapermen and others stood in a snow-covered field in northern Alberta and saw history made. When Imperial Leduc well No. 1 blew in a new era was opened for Canada and her people. With the proof that she had immense reserves of oil within her borders Canada had taken another long step on her inexorable march to greatness. Much of the credit for this epoch-making discovery must go to our speaker and his associates who, for almost two generations, had shown the courage and foresight to spend millions of dollars in oil exploration in Western Canada.

In speaking of Imperial Oil Limited—and incidentally, Sir, I hope you will never feel compelled to drop the name "Imperial" and of the men who direct it the magazine, "Business Week" had this to say a year ago: "The leader of the team—like the company—is an old hand. George L. Stewart joined Imperial in 1916, came up through the refinery end of the business, was named board Chairman in 1947, moved up (by Imperial's ranking) into the president's slot two years later."

Stewart, in his early sixties, was born in Winnipeg, took an engineering degree at McGill University. After graduation, he stayed on for a time as an instructor. He still likes education work, keeps alive a company tradition of frequent bullsessions with college seniors and their professors. He's mildmannered and conservative — no junketing supersalesman type, forever dashing off to view Imperial's vast domain. His associates figure he gets a lot more done—in a less spectacular manner—burning the midnight oil at Imperial's Toronto headquarters. Stewart is modest, not shy; progressive and aggressive in a quiet way.

One Imperial official put it this way: "Guess you'd call him a 'solid citizen.' The kind of a fellow you'd want to talk to if you had a deep personal problem."

I wish to add only one thing to that. Mr. Stewart enjoys one singular and unique distinction not mentioned. He is the only man in Canada who can drive into 10,000 separate business establishments and say to himself, "Here I feel at home."

MR. STEWART: It was very kind of you to ask me to speak to you at the present time. Seldom has there been a period when subject matter came more readily to hand. There are scores of things relating to Canada and the Commonwealth which demand attention and discussion.

However, I do not intend to discuss all the things that we might talk about! Instead, I would like to mention a few aspects of the Canadian oil development which may be of interest, and then go on to some matters of more general national interest.

The oil industry in Canada has, as you know, become something of a "glamour" industry since the war. In greatly increased numbers we have donned ten-gallon hats and roamed the prairies, looking for crude oil. For the first time in this century, Canada faces the prospect of becoming self-sufficient in oil. New pipe lines have nearly spanned the continent and the tanks and towers of new gathering plants and of modern refineries have risen at many points.

All this activity has given the industry a large share of the limelight. Along with aluminum in British Columbia and iron in Labrador, western oil will probably continue through history to rank among the major new frontiers opened up in Canada's mid-century expansion.

Oil is important in its own right, as in any other industry. But I feel that its role as an opener of frontiers is the feature of the industry that appeals to Canadians today. In the long record of Canada's development there has been a succession of frontier industries—the cod fishing off the Atlantic coast, the fur trade, timber, railways, grain, mining and electrical power. All of them have opened new horizons, have led to new industries and increased population.

Most Canadians, even those of us who have only a sketchy knowledge of history, are thoroughly aware of the importance of expanding our industrial frontiers. We know that Kitimat, Labrador and Leduc are not important solely for the aluminum, iron and oil that will come from these developments, but for the other industries that will almost certainly follow on their heels. We know that you cannot electrify northern British Columbia, build railroads across Labrador or produce millions of barrels of petroleum energy on the prairies without making profound changes in the opportunities that these regions present. It was so with the fishery that opened up our coasts, with the beaver trade that opened the interior—with every major frontier industry in our history.

Western oil has developed to the point where it is possible to see some of the secondary effects. It is now nearly six years since the discovery at Leduc in February, 1947. That is much too short a period to appraise the ultimate effects of the development, but some of the initial results are becoming apparent.

The oil industry itself has brought the investment of nearly a billion and a half dollars since the end of the war. About three-quarters of that money has been spent in the west. Some of it, like the money spent on pipe lines and refineries, is not necessarily of a recurring nature; but it is surprising how many "non recurring" items do, in fact recur time and again. On the other hand, certain expenditures, gathering lines, separators and storage tanks are continuous and increasing as the fields grow in extent. Something upwards of $300 million is currently being spent on this sort of work and we can expect this rate of investment to continue.

It's worth remembering that this investment began to flow at a time when the prairies were losing population. Farm mechanization had grown rapidly during the thirties and early forties. There was not the same need for men on the land, while the need for men in the cities—chiefly cities outside the prairies—was very great.

This temporary movement away from the prairies was, as it turned out, no real cause for alarm. It simply reflected the fact that prairie farming was in transition to a more efficient, more prosperous condition. But at the time it caused serious misgivings, especially to people like myself who were born and brought up in the West.

Under the circumstances, the discovery of oil could not have come at a more auspicious time. It meant a billion dollars or so worth of new opportunity in an area which badly needed it.

Before touching on the response that this stimulus has evoked in Alberta, I should perhaps make it clear that the oil industry does not claim all the credit. Credit for this progress belongs to a vigorous people, and the role played by the oil industry has been that of expeditor or accelerator.

How rapid the progress has been can be measured by some of the figures from the census of 1951 and the prairie census of 1946. In the earlier year, before the discovery of oil at Leduc, Alberta ranked second in population, with 30,000 fewer people than Saskatchewan. Five years later it had reached top position, with a lead of 107,000 over its eastern neighbour. Not only has Alberta grown more rapidly than the other prairie provinces, but it has outpaced Canada as a whole, rising 17% against Canada's 14%.

Rather more interesting than the gain in Alberta's total population are the changes in occupations during the five years. For example, 26% more people found jobs in manufacturing and the mechanical trades. There was a one-third rise in the number of people managing or owning businesses. This is, broadly, what one would expect in such a period of expansion—a growth in manufacturing and the establishment of new businesses.

But the growth in professional and clerical groups was more pronounced and, I imagine, still more pleasing to the West. There was a 50% increase in both the professional and clerical categories. Those of us who recall the time when many young westerners felt that they must go east to make a career will be interested in the change that came in five years of progress in Alberta.

In such circumstances, one expects to find an increase in the number of engineers, and the fact that their number more than doubled is not surprising. But to find increases of roughly two-thirds in the number of writers, artists and librarians was something of an eye-opener. It would make an interesting study to find out what connection, if any, existed between the growth of these cultural occupations and the opening of a new industrial frontier.

There does, however, seem to be a close connection between the oil development and the growth of manufacturing in the provinces. From 1946 to 1951, investment in manufacturing in Alberta showed nearly five times the rate of increase of Canada as a whole. No other province equalled Alberta's rate of growth for manufacturing investment.

While this manufacturing investment does not include any of the capital expended for oil development, I suspect that much of the manufacturing was fairly closely linked with oil. More and more of the supplies needed for exploration and development are coming from prairie sources. Now a second kind of industry is coming to the fore, the petro-chemical industry, based in part on the increase in the number and throughput of refineries. Since 1946 the capacity of western refineries has increased threefold. At that time, you could in some cases supply gasoline more cheaply to consumers by importing it, rather than importing crude oil and doing the processing in the prairies. After Leduc, the reverse became true, and today domestically-produced gasoline at Edmonton is about 10c a gallon cheaper than imports would be.

Aside from cheaper gasoline, these refineries added an important new industrial resource to the prairies—refinery gases. These cracked gases have similar heating value with natural gas, but substantially different chemical properties. In a nutshell, they are essential in the manufacture of rubber and a wide variety of other petro-chemicals. It now appears that the refinery gases may prove a major missing link in the prairie industrial chain.

These are only a few samples of what is going on in Western Canada as a result of what I have called a billion dollars' worth of opportunity. One could go on indefinitely—for there is not an individual or family in the prairies—no nor in all of Canada—whose horizons have not in some way been broadened by the opportunities that have been created by the flow of investment into Western Canada.

Now it is not my intention to recite a long list of the benefits that flow from an oil development. What I do wish to stress is the benefits that accrue from *any* industrial development that opens new frontiers and opportunities. Aluminum and iron will have basically similar effects and so will many other industries large and small. The development of such industries provides the dynamic element in our economic life. They create the new opportunities which alone can bring productive full employment and social security. They enable the immigrant to build a new home and the native son to hew out a career.

The billion and a half dollars that has been invested in Canadian oil alone is 1¼% of the total value of Canada's output of goods and services for the postwar period. If all the capital had been raised at home, it would be equal to about five days' effort each year from everyone. The capital raised for oil is equal to about one-half of the value of new passenger automobiles on the highways, or a third of the new homes we have built since the war.

Perhaps these comparisons belittle the 1½ billion dollars that the oil industry has spent. Even today a billion is quite a substantial sum—especially when you have to raise part of it! But the contrast between the 1¼% or so of national product required to finance these frontier industries and the potential benefits that Canada will ultimately draw from them is very marked. That 1¼% spells the difference between a dynamic and a static economy, between expansion and contraction, between progress and decay. One can view these dynamic factors as a socialist and see them building a broader base for social welfare. One can view them as a capitalist and see them building a broader base for investment and industry. Or one can view them as a neutral and see both goals being achieved simultaneously. It does not matter what stand you take, man's physical well-being seems to coincide with man's ability to push into new fields.

A consideration of these points brings us squarely up against the world's greatest problem today. If an expanding economy is the solution to most of our economic and social problems—and if the capital required for an expanding economy is so small relative to the total productive effort—why is it that large areas of the world do not enjoy this sort of expansion? Why is it that some countries are regarded as underdeveloped and chronically in need of aid?

I think we can find the answer by looking a little more closely at our expanding economy. After all, Canada too is an "underdeveloped country". We are by no means fully developed, nor is the United States for that matter. The difference between our own country and those less fortunate is that expansion is taking place at a satisfactory rate in Canada. Why?

Part of the answer lies in our national attitude towards expansion and its reflection in our laws governing the development of resources. In this country, we recognize that a certain minimum of controls is necessary. We recognize that the individual has certain responsibilities to the community and that industry has responsibilities to the country. Such controls and responsibilities are defined by custom and by law in the general interest, and go no further than is necessary for their purpose. They permit individual enterprise to function freely to maximize development and prosperity. I can perhaps best indicate our national attitude to resource development by contrasting it with that of some other countries.

Some countries have made development of their resources a government monopoly while some others restrict it to the native-born. In either cases, an effective barrier is set up against the importation of new capital and new ideas.

Some parts of the world permit outsiders and outside capital to develop resources, but make the developer's title so insecure that capital and prospectors shun the area.

Still other parts of the world have extended a sort of legal welcome in the form of progressive legislation, but have chilled the welcome by excessive and discriminatory taxation.

Most of the countries which have adopted this nationalistic, anti-foreign attitude have suffered for it. And this is not surprising, since the very fact that an industry is new to a country indicates that there may be a deficiency of domestic capital and personnel to get it going. Certainly, Canada's ability to combine patriotic interests with international tolerance is one of the basic reasons for our country's progress and prosperity.

Those of us who wish to maintain and improve the contribution of competitive free enterprise are sometimes inclined to stress the need for good legislation and leave it at that. Give us, we say, fair laws which promote competition but which leave the prospector or developer reasonable security of tenure, freedom to market his product, freedom from capricious changes in the rules of the game, and the freedom to retain a reasonable proportion of his earnings.

All those things are necessary, but they're not the whole story. For example, no conceivable legislation on the part of what is now Canada could have led to the development of one of our earliest industries, the fur trade. That trade arose because Europeans wanted beaver furs and beaver hats. The conditions that brought about that early frontier industry were far removed from Canada.

Similar considerations apply to the frontier industries of today. The most important single factor in launching today's drive for petroleum, iron and aluminum is not anything nearby or very recent. It was the automobile, whose own development began to take shape some 60 years ago.

The relation between the motor car of 1900 and Canadian prosperity in the 1950s may appear somewhat remote, but it is none the less real. For example, it would have been foolish to look for oil in the Canadian prairies if those provinces had not been well-stocked with automobiles, trucks and tractors. If it had not been for the local need for petroleum, the search would have been for oil to export, and there are a great many areas of the world where exportation of oil appeared easier than from our prairie region.

If one concedes that the horseless carriages gave a push that helped to open Canadian frontiers fifty years later, one is led to ask: "What things are developing today that will open up new frontier industries a half-century hence?"

That is, of course, a very difficult question to answer. We may be sure that posterity will value things differently from the way we do. But another way of asking the question is "What *could* have developed in the past ten years or so that would vitally affect future prosperity?" That question becomes very pointed when you try to imagine what would have happened if the automobile had come on the market in 1939 instead of when it did. That is, that the auto age had dawned in a period of economic controls and planning. Suppose the horseless carriage had been subjected to the scrutiny of a foreign exchange control, steel control or rationing authority!

Could such an article be classed as an essential? On the contrary, the first automobiles were the toys of the idle rich. They were not regarded seriously from the transportation viewpoint.

Did the automobile have a large industry behind it? Or, to put it bluntly, did it represent many votes? Again the answer is no, for in those early days, the production of automobiles was pretty much a back-shed proposition, not very far advanced beyond the bicycle repair shop era.

Did the automobile have strong financial recommendations? No again. In those early days there were very few investors who looked kindly on the noisy, unreliable horseless carriage. As a group, investors were not interested.

These things remind us that many of the genuinely new products of industry are born into a hostile world. Sensible people were, for the most part, unfriendly to the early motor cars, an attitude which is still reflected in the oppressive taxation to which autos—and the fuel they use—are subjected.

The natural coolness to innovation, sales resistance, if you like, is something that a good product or idea can overcome in time. But not if this attitude is crystallized into the form of an official control or priority scheme. Then, the mere fact that we have been getting along without something indicates that it is non-essential, hence not entitled to an official priority. In the planned, controlled economy, only the established consumer goods are likely to get approval and the genuinely new article is likely to be killed at birth.

This is, I think, the chief reason we should oppose superfluous controls—not only for what they can do to the established trades in which most of us earn our livings, but for what they can do to industries in the formative period, industries that are so new that no one could present a brief on their behalf!

These new and growing industries are the source to which we must look for the frontier industries of tomorrow. We are still, perhaps, inclined to take too short a view in our economic thinking, to take measures to solve an exchange problem or a material shortage without realizing the effects on industries which appear of secondary importance.

It appears to me that the one most essential feature of a healthy free enterprise system is that its rulers must take the very long view. Day-to-day extemporaneous planning is bound to kill off some of the new growth that is so necessary for continued vitality.

And this is something we cannot afford to do. The prosperity and expansion of the 1950's must be followed by other developments that will bring further benefits to the country. But this will only be achieved, we may be sure, if we can maintain the fertility of our economic life, Only in a community free to experiment, to take some chances and to do the unorthodox will those movements develop which will open new frontiers fifty years from now.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. Tracy Lloyd.

"BY JET TO JO'BURG"

An Address by

KATE AITKEN
Distinguished Radio Commentator

Thursday, January 22nd, 1953

CHAIRMAN: The President, Mr. John W. Griffin.

MR. GRIFFIN: Members and Guests of The Empire Club of Canada: 'With scripts in her fingers and wings on her toes she shall make news wherever she goes!' Kate Aitken makes 16 radio (and one television) broadcasts each week which leaves little doubt about the scripts in her fingers. As to the wings—since Christmas she has been in Yellowknife in the frozen wastes of the North West Territories and seen the magnificent rolling veldt of the Cape of Good Hope. Not bad, grandma, not bad!

Canada's famous "Mrs. A." has had an extraordinary career since the day in 1923 when she began conducting cooking schools at the Canadian National Exhibition. In addition to many years spent as Women's Director of the C.N.E., she has served as an official of the Wartime Prices and Trade Board, as Women's Editor of the Montreal "Star", conducted European and Asiatic food surveys for the British Government and been Canadian delegate to numerous international conferences.

While she no longer conducts cooking schools "Mrs. A." still goes where the pot is boiling. In the wonderful land of South Africa, so sadly torn by racial strife since the political defeat of the great Smuts, she interviewed Prime Minister Malan just five days ago. Not content with this, Mrs. Aitken made a side trip to Nairobi and obtained valuable on-the-spot information about the native unrest in Kenya Colony. Ladies and Gentlemen—the Woman of the Hour!

MRS. AITKEN: Thank you very much, Mr. Griffin, and good afternoon ladies and gentlemen.

When we come to a trip such as this to South Africa, the inevitable question I am asked by many of my friends is this, "How on earth can you hope to learn anything in the three days you will be there?" And that, I think would be the question in many of your minds.

The answer is this: South Africa is one of the world's hot spots for news. Many people fear that the uprisings in South Africa may lead to civil war—or to a continuance of the fight of the black against white. So it was with that thought in mind that I made up my mind three or four months before Christmas to go to South Africa, there to see for myself what was going on. Then all arrangements were made for flying to Cape Town and Johannesburg.

First of all, what preparation is needed for such a journey? Reservations are essential since the Comet jet planes are packed full every trip made to Jo'Burg and back again to London.

We have to investigate the climate. What kind of clothes do you need to take? It's June in January in South Africa so we buy cottons, summer shoes, shady hats and such like.

The background of the country? That knowledge is most essential if the best is to be gained from the journey. Follows the question of passports and innoculations. All of that which is the mechanical part of the journey has to be seen to. And on top of everything else are the inevitable appointments which must be made before we leave this country.

Now comes the business of getting to South Africa. It is easy enough from Toronto to Montreal. From Montreal overseas to London is now like an overnight milk run.

We land at the airport of London, there pick up the Comet for overseas.

I could not leave the airport of London without referring to it in the kindest terms, because of all the airports to which I fly, the port of London is the one in which we receive the greatest amount of courtesy and consideration. I have never see anything like it. The Airport is going 24 hours a day with planes coming in and out every minute. Instead of the plane coming right to the airport centre, the buses run out to the planes. From the moment those gentle English voices say, "May I help you?" the way is smooth.

We landed at Sunday noon and took off very shortly after recording two broadcasts. Many of you ask me, "Are your broadcasts ever recorded?" No—unless we are in flight. So landing in London on Sunday we recorded our broadcast and got it to Canada for Monday. The BBC technicians came out to London airport with their sound truck and we did the broadcasts on the spot. The TCA plane was going out in a matter of moments . . no time for air express . . we rushed over to the TCA counter and asked, "Can you get these discs back to Toronto?" And that is the way we managed our broadcasts in Canada for Monday.

Then we took off in the jet plane. The BOAC Comet is a 36 passenger plane and you can see from the model on the table how slender it is—the two big wings and exhaust in front. We fly straight up until we are 37,000 feet in the air, roughly 7 miles. At that distance there is no vibration, nor indeed is there at any time in these jets. It is true, you can take up a pencil, stand it up on a table in front of you, and it does not waver. I have flown in the new jets to Yellowknife. There is a tiny bit more noise, I would say it was comparable to a DC3 in flight. The only time the noise is disturbing is when we began to descend those seven miles. We come screaming down sounding precisely like a cream separator in high gear.

Between London and Jo'burg we made landfall five times and if I may, we will take the highlights. We fly right through from London to Rome. To me the airport in Rome is most beautiful—it is of pure Italian design, and since I was there three months ago the new big restaurant is completed. To my way of thinking this is one of the most satisfying rooms in which I have ever been. The rounded ceiling is pure white, then comes down in a lighter beige tone. Set against a range of windows are pillars that come up and break over, and in those intersections were set white azaleas, the full length of the windows. And then an open fire place in which olive wood was burning with that grey-green flame it gives.

On to our next port of call which is Cairo. Egypt as you know is very much disturbed. The British are not popular so Egyptian police are right at the airport when we land. This is understandable in a country that has abolished all Parliamentary procedure for three years. We step off the plane, we come down the steps, while a column of Egyptian police check baggage and passports, then lead us in single formation to the airport. Jet passengers are not allowed to mingle with any other passengers in the airport. We are taken upstairs and given the run of the dining room. In the 50 minutes or so we are off the plane, the police search the plane from cover to cover, going under the seats with searchlights. One would wonder what they expect to find down there. Then when we are ready to take off we are again escorted to the Comet by military police.

The next port of call is Khartoum and that is the most easy going airport I've been in. In this hot atmosphere all kinds of insects thrive. As usual it is, "Will you have a cup of tea?" My tea comes in with two succulent bugs swimming in it. I point; the waiter picks them out; says, "Oh, pardon Madame"; hands me back the tea and I drink it.

When we got down into the heart of Africa we come into Entebbe and it is as different from Khartoum as possible. The airport is beautiful—a pure white stucco building, long and flat, with huge umbrellas on the green lawn. Under them are charming looking women in cotton dresses. Their food service is excellent. The place is immaculately clean.

Our next take-off is for Jo'burg. Flying there we sight the magnificent spectacle—Victoria Falls. We look at it with a nostalgic feeling and say, "Its spray is just like Niagara Falls at home."

We come into Jo'burg which is our last drop down. There we run into the segregation regulations. Up till now we have had common washrooms, etc. We come into Jo'burg—everything is either European or non-European. There is a European and a non-European waiting room. The same is true of the washrooms and the coffee bar. There is a distinct segregation from the moment one lands in Jo'burg. This includes even the buses which run into the city.

The city itself is a mining town . . like Timmins. Its suburbs are lovely, its business section a tribute to the business acumen of Kruger. When Jo'burg was laid out some smart man told Kruger that all the corner lots were valuable and the lots in between not so good. So he said, "Give us plenty of corner lots." Jo'burg is filled with corner lots and narrow streets, consequently the city is congested. There are three or four new buildings going up—straight up because of lack of ground space. Even the people of Jo'burg, filled with local pride, say "what a mess this is."

The residential section and the residences themselves are very beautiful with the roses, hydrangeas, asters, zinnias and a dozen other flowers in bloom.

But to me the most arresting part of Jo'burg is the huge piles of slag which surround and ring the city. There are 44 gold mines and 120 miles of underground tunnelling, somewhat like our coal mines in Nova Scotia. But these huge piles of slag look as though they were laid out by a master hand. At sunset they pick up the rose of the sun, shading to lavender and gray and green.

Then comes the tragic part of Jo'burg—the shanty towns surrounding the city. There are five of them. Their population runs from 20,000 to 30,000 each. Each shanty town is densely inhabited by natives.

When we talk about all the things which should be done in South Africa, I think it would pay us as ratepaying citizens to remember this; That in South Africa there are approximately 13½ millions of people. Of those 11 millions are natives, 1½ million are Afrikaners and approximately 1 million British. That small European minority must carry the taxation for 13½ millions, for no native pays a tax of any sort except a poll tax. So you see the tiny minority is carrying the burden of government.

The shanty towns? There are rows and rows of mud huts with earth floors. The window may be glazed. The door usually has a curtain in front. There is no indoor plumbing or sewerage. There are taps out of doors for 30,000 people and those in the open. There are two ravines which run through these shanty towns and those ravines are the latrines for those 30,000 people.

Both mother and father in most families work. The mother earns about 10 dollars a month, the father from 20 to 30 dollars. They leave at six o'clock in the morning and come back at night. During the entire day the children, with no schooling, no shelter or education, just roam the ravines. And don't blame Jo'burg. Jo'burg is saddled with taxes. You can't take on 50,000 people, give them utilities, unless there is money coming from somewhere. The children are fed at noon, some of them, by the English speaking women. This is a voluntary business carried on in the shanty towns.

We went out at noon. We took with us a truckload of brown bread, peanut butter and fish oil. Eight hundred children were queued up by the native policemen. Every child got a piece of bread, spread with peanut butter and fish oil as far as it went. When 800 were fed there was nothing left, and there were another 800 or 1,000 left for whom there was no free food. These are not the children of mine workers. Their parents do cleaning, restaurant work and street work in the city.

The mines look after their natives very well—they are well fed. They work underground of course. In the mines they have rest areas, restaurants, showers. Workers take

EMPIRE CLUB
OF
CANADA

January 29th: Norman Urquhart, J. L. Carson, the Speaker, C. L. Burton, the President, John W. Griffin, the President of The Canadian Club of Toronto, John Porter and Margaret McEachern.

a hot shower at night before they leave. The miners live in compounds. They are indentured for 8½ to 12½ months, then they go back to the hills. In Jo'burg they are allowed out on a pass from the superintendent. They must of course go only to non-European theatres and non-European shops; they must keep themselves completely apart from the European population.

From Jo'burg to Pretoria is 30 miles. The Union of South Africa has two capitals, Pretoria and Cape Town. When I asked, "Why two capitals?" the answer was, "That was one of Smuts' ideas," and was told that both cities wanted to be the chief city so Smuts compromised and made two capitals. It reminds me of Toronto where we have two sections to the paper so that both Eatons and Simpsons can carry back page ads.

Cape Town is the administrative head.

Pretoria is an Africaner town. It is a Kruger memorial but of course the business of government is at Cape Town. It is like Vancouver or Victoria, possibly more like Victoria. It is a University town. When you fly in the impression is that it is soft and gentle and easy-going. It is only after you have been there a little while that you begin to notice the tension underneath which comes from the population, very largely from the Cape Coloured, the half castes.

That brings us to the question of population. We have in South Africa the Afrikaner or the Dutch or the Boer—that community developed from the 17 burgers who went out from Holland in the 1700's. Many of them sought permission to marry native wives. Some married them without permission; there lies the basis of the half caste Cape Coloured population. Next we come into that vast population of Bantus with its mixture of African tribes, plus the Hottentots, bushmen, millions of them.

Then of course there is the ever present problem of the Indian population, brought in to work the sugar plantations in the 1860's. In the Province of Natal there are more Indians than Europeans and natives combined. So you have your Cape Coloured from whom the vote has been taken. You have the Bantus and Indians who have no vote. Then you have your Europeans—the Afrikaner and the British.

What is the future of this country? Economically it is tremendously sound with the diamonds, the gold, the native mines, the cotton, the canned fruits and now uranium, because every gold mine slag pile is filled with uranium. Those slag piles are now being broken down. So that economically the future is bright. But you talk to the national people, the government people and you go on to the United people, the party which is competing in the election. You go to the coloured people. Every party to whom you talk has a different story, a different attitude. All I can do as a reporter is tell you some of the personal things which I have encountered.

The thing you would like to know most of all is about Dr. Malan. He is an amazing man. He terrifies me he is so strong. He is strong with a strength that Hitler or Mussolini never had because the man talks absolutely with the Word of God. You talk of native housing. Dr. Malan's attitude is that the natives can sleep under trees. You can't buck an attitude like that and yet the man supports everything he says with the Old Testament.

Malan and Smuts, the two strong men of South Africa grew to hate one another. Yet the amazing thing is this; as two farm boys they grew up side by side, exchanging dinners. One Sunday Smuts' people having dinner with the Malan family and another Sunday the Malan family having dinner with the Smuts' family. They grew up and went to University, and then the division started.

Two men, both Prime Minister of South Africa—one, Smuts, an enemy of the British who became a British Field Marshal. One, Malan, who never heard a shot fired in the Boer War yet to whom Ladysmith is as alive today as if he had been there. Malan hated Smuts and the Smuts policy and yet when Smuts died he wept. The Bible is on his desk always. Malan lives by the word of God as he interprets it.

You can see for yourself a man like that is far more dangerous than a man who is a demagogue, which that man isn't—than a man who is a political opportunist, which this man is not—a hypocrite which Malan is not. Today he is the strongest power in South Africa.

Jo'burg! One thing I carried in my mind was the street signs. Here we have a city which is now Afrikaner. The street signs are Afrikaner and British or only Afrikaner. I saw no parking signs in English. They are all in Afrikaner. There is no singing of our National Anthem as we sang it today. In any theatre or opera that is wiped out.

In Cape Town one unforgettable thing—District 6 in Cape Town is the crime district. But one of the Cape Coloured native sons who has been taking ballet lessons was sent to England. The night I arrived in Jo'burg he won an outstanding success in London in the Sadlers Wells Ballet. I wanted to go down to see this boy's father and mother. I told the police I wanted to meet the parents in the place in which they live and I wanted to talk about their son. I was warned not to go. But I walked down into the district. Flags were flying in every part of it and there was not a man, woman or child who did not know that a native son had made good. It was one of the most thrilling things I experienced. So you see it is not always a dark side.

But there is a dark side to this coloured problem. We went into the airport at Entebbe. We were sitting at a table, an Englishman, a Scotsman, and an Afrikaner and myself. We had a little native boy waiting on us in white tunic and bright red sash. He brought the meat, presented it to the Scotsman sitting here, then instead of going to the proper side he presented it to the Afrikaner. He shouted, "Over!" So the little boy pattered around. The Afrikaner took the meat. After that he deliberately placed the heel of his shoe on the small native's bare feet.

Another incident. We were driving into Jo'burg. Four natives were coming along on the street. We were in their way. They walked past the car, cursed us heartily and I felt they would happily have wrecked the car.

In every South African city housing is a problem but gradually that problem is being met. Every manufacturer, every employer of labour is now taxed 2s.6d. a month which is turned into Welfare and Housing. In Jo'burg, Cape Town, Pretoria and Elizabeth a native can now buy a house for $750. True it is only a two-roomed house . . . but all the native has to do is pay down $250 and has 20 years to pay the balance.

It is a beautiful country with unlimited problems—with a huge native problem. From the tip of the Union of South Africa to the tip of Egypt there are 250,000 Europeans and 150 million natives. There is the problem of education, the problem of housing, of adequate wage scale.

But I feel I would be most remiss if I did not stress over and over again the magnificent work being done by the churches—Catholic, Protestant and Jewish. There is so much unselfishness, so much of self-denial going into the work of the churches that without them the life of the native would be very dull and drab. The teachers and the religious folks feel it is very difficult to teach the native children to sing, "There's a land that is fairer than day," when darkness, ignorance and disease becloud their fair and lovely land.

Can that cloud be lifted? Can bitter hatred between black and white be cancelled? Can living conditions become tolerable for 11 million natives?

The answer must be "Yes," else it will be sunset in South Africa instead of sunrise.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. Sydney Hermant, a Past President of The Empire Club of Canada.

"WHAT SHALL WE FIGHT IT WITH?"

An Address by

CHARLES L. BURTON, C.B.E.
Chairman of the Board, Simpson's Limited
Toronto

Joint Meeting with The Canadian Club of Toronto

Thursday, January 29th, 1953

CHAIRMAN: The President, Mr. John W. Griffin.

MR. GRIFFIN: Members and Guests of the Canadian Club of Canada: Our speaker today, Mr. Charles L. Burton, is one of Canada's outstanding men. He is the personification of the great North American ideal—the boy from the country who first saw goods sold in a rural general store and today is Chairman of the Board of a mighty retail organization which last year sold over two hundred million dollars worth of merchandise. Mr. Burton effected this classic transformation by his own combination of ability, foresight, hard work and, of course, "A Sense of Urgency". His book of that name, published last Autumn, has become a byword in Canada in only four months and has provided material for countless discussions over innumerable dinner tables. Perhaps you haven't heard this story: It seems that shortly after Mr. Burton's book was published one of his grandsons was called on for recitation in class. When his answer was a little slow in coming his Master is reputed to have chided him with, "Come, come Burton, show a little "Sense of Urgency".

Great as Mr. Burton's success in business has been it alone would not have earned him the esteem and affection in which he is held by his fellow cititzens today. But our speaker is a man who has never spared himself in the service of the community in which he lives. He has always been aware that Right implies Duty and Power confers Responsibility. Over the years he has served on and acted as the Head of many of our most important Civic bodies. His latest but I am sure not his last, service to Toronto is the magnificent job he is doing as General Chairman of the Women's College Hospital Fund. I think it is a generally accepted axiom that great charitable campaigns like this can succeed only when presided over by a man of great prestige, wide influence and genuine public regard. The success of this speaks for itself and for Mr. Burton.

Gentlemen, my youth forbids that I should take any liberty with our distinguished speaker but our dear friend, Past President R. A. Stapells has used his Christian name so often in speaking to me that I find it springs easily to my tongue. I am going to combine it with a paraphrase of the widely-known slogan of the Robert Simpson Company and assure you that "You'll enjoy listening to Charlie Burton".

MR. BURTON: One cannot be indifferent to the reception which your two great Clubs—The Empire Club of Canada and The Canadian Club of Toronto have jointly accorded me. Your reception, gentlemen, is beyond my fondest hopes.

My subject to-day was announced more or less in a spirit of self defence.

It is "What Shall We Fight It With?"

We have one common enemy—Communism.

When I was younger and proposed ways and means for solving problems which were obviously quite beyond satisfactory solution, I was accused of giving a "counsel of perfection" and I am afraid that in dealing with my subject to-day I may be guilty of similar fault.

We have a tremendous fight on our hands. It is a fight that will have to be waged, as always, by the young men; at any rate men younger than I and many of us here.

About all we can do is to offer our counsel and the experience of our years to the men who must face an almost immediate future filled with conflict far more profound than any we your elders have gone through.

For this is a conflict of faiths.

Whittaker Chambers in his great book "The Witness" wrote in the portion devoted to his children

> "In this century, within the next decades, will be decided for generations whether all mankind is to become Communist, whether the whole world is to become free or whether civilization, as we know it, is to become destroyed or completely changed".

Most of you to whom I speak to-day are to be faced with this situation.

Geoffrey Crowther, Editor of the London Economist, delivered three lectures in California upon the theme of The Economic Reconstruction of Europe. His subject was dealt with under three heads—

The Vitality of Europe
Freedom and Order in Europe
America and Europe

Mr. Crowther pointed out that the frightful dislocations in European countries were not as hopeless economically as might appear. Yet, these lectures were delivered in February 1948 at a time when the seizure of Czecho-Slovakia had just been accomplished, the speaker not realizing at the time that a civilization was about to be destroyed or completely changed.

We are now aware that our early hopes for the solution of international problems through the United Nations are not soon likely to be realized, for the reason that the Communist group seizes every opportunity to block all efforts to resolve such problems.

The threat of Communism is upon us.

Shall we fight it and what with?

I well remember in my early days we used the feather duster—all that happened was that the movable dust was stirred up, only to settle over a wider area—so the feather duster is no longer used.

Not long since we considered wide civilized areas of the world were safe from the dreadful thrust of Communism, spreading its destruction of faith in God and introducing orgiastic materialism. Every day from behind the Iron Curtain, we get a passing glimpse of purges, slavery, threats and pressures. Everywhere we find within our free countries, schemes, machinations, infiltrations and propaganda.

We have joined with the United States, at great expense to the Canadian taxpayer, in the organized defence of Western Europe against Communism.

Commonwealth Conferences seem to lose their meaning. We wildly call for trade agreements, exchange settlements, and all the time we are baffled on one hand and the other.

We are prepared to think that our "Way of Life" stands as a self evident bulwark against the materialism of Communism, but such passivity of mind on our part is no weapon with which to fight such a relentless enemy.

Our political life fails us in this surprising emergency.

Our religion has caught us napping.

Our educational systems are inadequate.

So we must add something to our armour above a good standard of living and improving social conditions.

I have said no political party can meet the threat. I suppose no place on this earth is there better government or better men leading our political life than we are blessed with in Canada. Canada as a country, its provinces, its counties, its townships and municipalities, are on the whole well administered.

May I give a couple of personal illustrations to show what I mean when I say that under our present political practices we can not and do not meet the threat.

In the Spring of 1940 Canada was at war. Parliament was called upon to sit during the 24th of May and the following day, Saturday. I had been invited to a fishing party near Maniwaki. I suggested to a young man in the party, who was physically unable to serve in the Forces, that he should see Parliament in action in these two extra days during which the House would sit. Good seats were provided for us in the speakers gallery. Promptly we were in attendance at three o'clock in the afternoon to see Parliament open. We were full of anticipation. The two extra days were supposed to further the project before the House, which was the first war vote for World War II—a vote of $700,000,000. Canadian forces were already on the way to war—thousands more were in training.

The opening ceremonies were duly impressive. Exchanges between the leaders having to do with questions before the House were in good form. However, before we could realize it, the House had settled to routine business and speakers debating the speech from the throne were on hand and ready. What was our surprise to find a prominent Conservative member of the House on his feet. He was manifestly fresh from the barber's chair. He read most of his speech—which we understand is hardly according to Hoyle. What had his remarks to do with the 700 million dollar vote? Nothing that we could see. All the speeches which followed were routine. They followed none of the accepted rules of debate. That is no speaker's words had much if anything to do with the speech of the preceding speaker. The French speaking members were honoured to the extent of a score or more English speaking members retiring to the corridor for a smoke or to attend to some other business.

My companion when younger having spent a year in Switzerland could understand the drift of the remarks of the French speaking members, but they too had little if anything to do with the question before the House. None of the speeches seemingly had any reference to the $700,000,000. vote, to expedite which the members of the House had been kept in Ottawa and in extra sessions.

So we left—deciding to visit a picture show and at eight p.m. to return to the House. I will not dwell upon the evening session which was a travesty on decent usage or procedure. Yet we were seeing Canada's Parliament in forced session to discuss the first 700 million dollar vote in support of our boys on the way to the Front and in training. Presumably the speeches in the House were duly printed at the public expense, and sent free in Canada's mail to constituents throughout the country.

May I trespass upon your patience to give a further example.

In 1946 my wife and I visited the Canadian Pacific Coast and while in Victoria we met The Honourable John Hart, the former Premier, who was at the time acting in an advisory capacity to the Coalition Government. Thinking to acquaint myself with B.C. politics I enquired about the house sessions. Mr. Hart graciously obtained seats for us on the floor of the House.

Anyone who has seen the beautiful Victoria Parliament Buildings from the outside must have been impressed, as we always had been.

I am sorry to say the exchanges between the Government and the CCF opposition were anything but inspiring. Vituperation and invective were the order of the day. Anything approaching respect for an antagonist was noticeable by its absence. Party vied with party in promising new stars for the heavens.

Is it any wonder that in the recent elections a new unknown party was elected to office.

What did the Social Credit party promise—simply good government.

So I maintain no political party seeking selfish political objectives can meet the Communist threat.

Our religious life has caught us napping.

Our Protestant religious life has been too concerned with fundamentalism on the one hand and modernism on the other. Now that such questions have receded to the background we have found ourselves in a helpless vacuum in which paganism has often entered.

The Roman Catholic Church is still able every year to find hundreds if not thousands of young men and women who are willing to dedicate their lives to teaching, nursing and other forms of devotion, without regard to monetary reward.

The Jewish community is steadily building more and finer temples of their faith in our cities, and what is more, is placing in those temples rabbi preachers of a quality of scholarship, a gift of rhetoric and a tone of authority which cannot but profoundly impress.

Time was, not so far back, when Ministers of the Crown, Judges and more responsible civil servants as well as professors and teachers, were paid adequately. Not only were they attracted to such professions, but they took their places in the community with confidence and self respect. Economically it is difficult for them to do so to-day.

Fortunately our position in this fight is simpler than we have thought.

Let us each go about his daily duty. New "peace societies" or "arts councils" or "witch hunts" are unnecessary.

This is a time which does not admit of careless handling of any daily duty.

It is a time when we might properly call a moratorium on civic strife for strife's sake and when those who have responsibility for public services should on no account allow of their dislocation or failure.

It is a time for toleration and for forbearance toward each other.

In a characteristically frivolous vein the NEW YORKER, in a recent leader, says. "Coronations and inaugurations have gaiety and splendor, but they are preposterous backdrops for man's present adventure in nature. We are not travelling in golden coaches and open Cadillacs any more; we are moving rapidly upward in a space ship, and nobody understands the controls too well." "Everyone likes to imagine himself in high place, and we have been daydreaming about how we'd put in our first day as President in the critical year 1953. When they tried to catch us at a desk, we would shake our head and issue a statement: 'Sorry, got to go out to-day; got to call on a bayberry bush; got to see a pond about a man; got to find spruce gum, look under a rock, test rain for wetness and fertility; got to look for Life Everlasting'."

Communism allows of no deviation. You either believe or you are shot.

They call it the cold war. It is nothing of the kind. It is a war in which the two faiths are already locked in mortal combat.

Freedom is God's most precious gift.

And it is time all of us, in government, in education, in religion, yes, and on the plain, ordinary, everyday level of business, got it into our heads that freedom comes from God.

It is time we started to marshall our faith, and to take God into our councils at every level of our national life.

Gentlemen—the weapons we already have—the weapons that have been handed down to us from centuries of human experience—are the only weapons Communism fears. And they are—faith in God and faith in democracy as the nearest possible approach to a political application of God's will, as we have been able to interpret it.

Finally gentlemen, of the Empire Club and and Canadian Club, I offer you Micah's words—

> "What doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?"

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by The President of The Canadian Club of Toronto, Mr. John Porter.

"ONE BITE AT A TIME"

An Address by

HENRY M. WRISTON,
President of Brown University, Providence, R. I.

Joint meeting with The American Men's Club of Toronto

Thursday, February 5th, 1953

CHAIRMAN: The second Vice-President, Mr. H. R. Jackman.

MR. JACKMAN: As a substitute for our President, who regretfully is absent in Chicago, I was given a biographical summary of our guest speaker today. As a result I find myself eagerly looking forward to introducing a gentleman whose intellectual qualities and capacity for leadership make this assignment both an honour and a pleasure.

Our speaker, Dr. Henry M. Wriston, the President of Brown University, is distinguished for his contributions in four fields—the academic, business, international relations and as an author.

After his academic preparation at Wesleyan University, and studying for his doctorate at Harvard, he lectured at his Alma Mater, then at Johns Hopkins and in 1925 became President of Lawrence College in Wisconsin. While there he organized and became the first director of the "Institute of Paper Chemistry", a graduate school and "research" institute supported through the co-operation of the paper industry. In 1948 he was elected the first President of the Association of American Universities. He has long been a trustee and member of the Executive Committee of the Carnegie Foundation for the advancement of Teaching.

Although I do not know whether either of our Clubs Public Relations Committees claims the credit, this week's issue of *Time Magazine* devotes a long write-up to our guest speaker. He is quoted as saying, "that it is high time for revolution in education". With Dr. Wriston behind it I should not be surprised if there *will be a revolution!*

In addition to many business administrative positions he is a *trustee* of the Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Company and has served as a public *governor* of the New York Stock Exchange.

As an internationalist Dr. Wriston is President of the Council on Foreign Relations and a Trustee of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. In addition to serving as President of Community Chest organizations and defense committees he was an organizer and member of the Executive Committee of the National War Fund. The British Government in recognition of his services bestowed on him the Order of Commander of the British Empire.

Here Dr. Wriston's career reminds me of the story of the young American Foreign Service Officer who answered an examination question as to what were the three most important things in life *by saying,* "God, Love and Anglo-American Relations"!

In 1937 he was the author of "The Nature of a Liberal College" and in 1944, "The Strategy of Peace".

Dr. Wriston's career exemplifies the old saying that if you want a thing done give it to a busy man. His topic is, ONE BITE AT A TIME.

DR. WRISTON: Boswell quotes the great Samuel Johnson as saying, "A man, sir, should keep his friendship in constant repair." That is essential to everything I have to say. Ever since the Rush-Bagot agreement of 1817, Canada and the United States have had a special relationship. So long as they keep a virtually open mutual boundary, the two nations must perforce lie within a single defensive perimeter. Under those circumstances it is natural that, unless constant alertness is exercised, they will take each other for granted, and fail in those intrinsically trivial courtesies which do so much to maintain harmony in intimate associations.

It is essential also that there should be harmony in the mode and manner of approach to the great questions of our time. We must have a common strategy of peace if efforts to forestall war are to be successful. That does not mean absolute uniformity of interest or emphasis. Your position in the Commonwealth, for example, makes the distinctions between your viewpoint and ours clear enough. When genuine differences on important issues exist, they should be dispassionately resolved by the classic methods of compromise which the democratic process has brought to such a high state of development; they must not be hidden in a pile of sentimental rubbish.

Such specific questions, however important, are not our concern today. Rather I wish to direct our thought to the fundamental rhythm of our joint and separate diplomatic actions. Harmony in basic methods is as essential as agreement on common objectives; for in diplomacy, as in so many other matters, the means have profound effects upon the ends.

My thesis is that, having failed to arrive at global solutions for the major problems following the war, we should establish as many limited objectives as possible and consert our diplomacy to the achievement of those useful ends, however undramatic they may appear.

Inevitably the argument must appeal to history for justification of a suggestion so out of keeping with the great pronouncements of our times—from Woodrow Wilson to Churchill and Roosevelt. Before 1914 such a proposal for limited action would have seemed natural; now it requires a real effort to comprehend it.

The century between Waterloo and Serajevo saw more evidences of progress toward a peaceful world than any period in modern history. It was by no means a quiescent or stagnant era; indeed it was one of the most energetic in human history. Nor was it free from war. On the contrary hardly a year passed without some manifestation of the use of force for international purposes somewhere in the world. Progress toward the goal of peace consisted in the multiplication of devices to keep wars small, to quarantine fighting with a view to preventing its spread.

The idea of limited war for limited objectives gained such headway that it came to seem normal. The first great war of the 20th century was miscalled World War I because men had forgotten that before the 19th century general wars were common; the Napoleonic Wars and earlier struggles had been as extensive as the political world. Our generation did not realize that the failure of these global struggles to produce global peace was one of the prime reasons for the reversal of emphasis during the 19th century and for the effort to limit war both in space and in objectives.

Along with those two limitations in dimension went a third—the limitation of legal action. The rights of non-combatants were expanded; humane practices regarding prisoners were developed; certain types of arms were banned. In short, the aim was to shrink strife to the least size and scope consistent with the attainment of limited objectives.

World War I represented not only an abandonment of attempts at spatial containment of fighting; it was global in its objectives, also. Woodrow Wilson, the expositor of its pholosophy, used many phrases such as a "world safe for democracy"; "not a balance of power, but a community of power; not organized rivalries, but an organized common peace." At the Paris peace conference statesmen sought not only to solve all the territorial, economic, and political issues; they wrote a constitution for a world government to perpetuate their work.

The grandiose concept of global war for global settlements involved the overthrow of limitations and restraints. In contrast to long-developed practice, everything was done to bring more nations into the struggle, and the ends were held to justify almost any means. Wilson elevated the use of force to a degree that prepared the way for "total war" when he spoke of "Force, Force to the utmost, Force without stint or limit." Non-combatants lost most of their privileged status; poison gas and other inhumane weapons were used; rights which neutrals had gained in the previous century were whittled to a sliver. In short, all three of the classic 19th century efforts at containment—in space, in objectives, in methods—were abandoned.

One might suppose that, when peace was not achieved after the employment of these new concepts during the first World War, men would have been persuaded that such grandiose assumptions were incorrect. Yet despite the collapse of the structure of reparations, the failure of the prohibitions of Versailles, and the breakdown of the League of Nations, the basic notions of "total" global war and an integral world peace continued to dominate international life.

The promises of the Atlantic Charter illustrate this global perspective. The heads of two states sought to give "assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want," and be enabled "to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance"; they hoped to give all states "great or small, victor or vanquished . . . access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world," and to secure for all "improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security." It would be difficult to find language more sweeping.

The United Nations Conference at San Francisco likewise had a world ideal. The notion that the 19th century could teach the Atomic Age anything was rejected. Everything was "globalized"—health, welfare, nutrition, culture, economics, finance, and politics. World-embracing institutions were established to unify all problems under one aegis.

A new set of terms has been tailored to fit the new structure of ideas. They match the sweeping inclusiveness of the concepts which the 20th century substituted for 19th century experience. They are usually stated as stark absolutes. One such phrase is "total war." The slogan is characteristic of the new pattern of speech; it leaves no room for any different or competing idea. Yet even a few moments of serious reflection make it clear that history shows no instance, ancient or modern, of "total" war. Indeed, if every thought, word, and deed were completely engrossed in war, there would be no room for even thoughts of peace; thus war could never end; peace could never come.

Elementary analysis exposes the fallacy of the doctrine. How, then, could it gain wide currency? To begin with, the grain of truth which it contains makes it plausable. It reflects part of reality—namely the undoubted reversal of emphasis from war limited in space, scope, and objectives to global strife for grandiose ends, using means beyond those permitted before 1914. In short, it is a half-truth. Constant iteration inhibits the reflection which would reveal the half of the truth which the phrase suppresses. So public opinion is blinded to other significant realities. The problems before us are serious enough without having them needlessly complicated by dealing in absolutes where relatively better expresses reality.

"Unconditional surrender" was another verbal absolute which misled even those who gave it currency. It is the proper objective of the military to induce the enemy to yield with a minimum of bargaining. Civilian leaders, however, should never employ as a political concept an idea appropriate only to the military; to do so is to lose touch with reality.

The reason for the difference in military and political expression is simple: when the armed forces have overcome the enemy, they have fulfilled their mission; emphasis must then shift from the use of force to the employment of reason. If a great power is really rendered politically impotent, the politician faces an impossible task. The truism that nature abhors a vacuum applies to politics. When a political vacuum is created, new forces will rush in to fill it. Unconditional surrender simplifies an armistice; it complicates peace-making. Instead of making peace easier of attainment, it renders it more difficult.

A third absolute also captured the public mind. Like the others, it arose from the abandonment of the 19th century limitations upon war. With advertising fanfare we were given the phrase "One World." It now seems hardly credible that so obvious a political fantasy could so long have dominated public opinion. That result was achieved by inflating one phase of reality until it looked like the whole. An admitted physical reality is the globe—one world, indeed. Another aspect of reality is the interplay of forces around the world—undoubted and deeply significant. But the neglect of racial, religious, cultural, economic, and a thousand other differences, the suppression of all inconvenient characteristics of reality, made the "one-world" dogma a mirage.

Now that the hypnotic effect of the slogan has passed, the irrationally of this absolute is startkly revealed even to the most obtuse, though a short while ago it was difficult of discernment even by the normally astute.

As a kind of reaction from one extreme we are likely to lurch toward another. The one-world concept is being superseded by a two-world dogma. Biaxiality is as false as its predecessor. Because the United States and Russia are the strongist protagonists, there is a tendency in the United States to forget that neither power dominates large sections of the world, and that they influence other sections in varying degrees. Thoughtless acceptance of the new dogma of biaxiality makes associates of the United States feel they are less than partners; it gives the Russians a propaganda opportunity to pretend that other nations are joined to the United States only as satellites.

The biaxial dogma conceives of all nations as either allies or enemies; it denies that any nation can legitimately be neutral. It refuses to admit that a nation can be at peace with both parties and not an active participant in the cold war. This is contrary to history. India stands today in somewhat the position of the United States in 1793. It is young in years of independence, it faces daunting domestic problems—economic, social, political, religious; indeed it is in more parlous condition than the United States 160 years ago. At that time Britain was engaged in a death struggle with France. Yet the United States sought to stand aside; because its own concerns were so exigent it wanted no part of the world struggle. Consequently my fellow countrymen, at least, should have some glimmer of understanding of Nehru's position, some realization that a measure of isolation from the intensity of struggle may be essential to the survival of his nation.

What is unquestionably true of India applies in greater or lesser degee to other nations. The Asian Socialists at their recent Rangoon conference emphatically opposed "polarization toward the two power blocs" and argued for a "third force" independent of both. The dogma of biaxiality would force much of Asia into a dangerous position. We should take a longer, a more patient, a wiser view.

The habit of thinking in political absolutes culminates in the incapacity to make wise political decisions. It is an established fact of political mathematics that no number of half-truths will ever add up to the whole truth.

Under absolute principles there is no way to deal with Russia except by total war. That is a simple, direct conclusion and accounts for occasional demands for a so-called "preventive war." Analysis proves such an idea to be self-defeating, for after force has been employed to the ultimate, politics must still supervene. The effort to substitute force for reason can be successful only in a transient sense; ultimately reason must be the principal implement of political action. From this hard fact there is no conceivable escape.

Right now the limits of political action in dealing with Russia are very narrow. Recent experience shows the hope that we could negotiate a general settlement with Russia to be unrealistic. But again we must beware of absolutes. Because we cannot settle all our problems with Russia, it does not follow that we can settle none. That notion is just as dangerous to sound policy-making as its opposite. It has proved possible, even during the cold war, to relieve some tensions. The Russians withdrew their threat to Iran; they were stymied in Greece, they lost control of Yugoslavia; they modified their stand in the face of the Berlin airlift.

Merely to state the proposition, "because we cannot do everything, we can do nothing," is to reveal its absurity. Yet sometimes public opinion, nurtured on false absolutes, borders upon that attitude. In fact, sentiment of that sort may prove so strong as to damn all efforts at negotiation as "appeasement" and doom them to failure at home even should they succeed abroad.

The sound immediate program is to substitute specific efforts to achieve limited goals for the ideal of global settlement. It may seem anti-climatic, after being led to the mountaintop by prophets of the new era, to come down to the grubby business of achieving niggling gains by disproportionate effort. Nevertheless the record reveals that the world-shaking ideas outran not so much our power as our spiritual energies—at least those of some of our war-time associates who now menace us so terrifyingly. I suggest that great, not to say grandiose, expectations having been defeated we attempt more modest—and perhaps more manageable—programs of advance toward peace.

I am happy to see that Mr. Anthony Eden has accepted the thesis that limited objectives are valid. With restraint and good temper, but with firmness and clarity, he has dedicated himself to the solution of as many problems as possible, leaving to time and better fortune the resolution of others that can be dealt with successfully only as tensions are relieved. Progress along even so modest a line requires action of two sorts.

First, negotiation must be undertaken wherever possible. The objective should be to nibble away at any problem for which a tolerable solution seems attainable. It may not produce dramatic headway toward a general settlement, but the useful is often not dramatic. It may be only a short step with long intervals before another step can be taken; yet every advance is worth while.

Simultaneously another sort of action is essential. The free world should be strengthened in order to extend the area of negotiation. There is ample historical evidence that negotiation from "situations of strength" is easier than from a condition of weakness.

Here we must be aware that tension between the military and the political branches of the government is normal. We are observing the troubles of NATO and the effort to construct a European army. There are acute manifestations of this inevitable tension in several countries. The military must be ready for any eventuality; that requires more preparedness than the political arm is usually willing to undertake. Partly this unwillingness arises from the necessity to sacrifice constructive programs of domestic production and social welfare, calculated to raise the standard of living. It is hard to promote a program that is a drag upon the living standard. When that standard is already low, as in parts of Europe, its further impairment is so serious a matter as to imperil the stability of the government.

There is, however, a deeper reason for the tendency of the political branch to go more slowly with rearmament than the military desires. It is the danger that, instead of producing a situation of strength as a basis for effective negotiation, too large an armament program may eventuate in an arms race, the effect of which might be to postpone negotiation until after war had come and been completed.

One group of honest people will assert that Russia is ridden by fear, and that fear leads to irrational action—war. Others claim that Russia is driven by dreams of world domination. Despite the great difference between the motives which control policy in those opposite states of mind, the results may be almost identical so far as action is concerned.

Fear, a defensive mood, easily leads to aggression, an offensive action. Russians have vivid memories of the "cordon sanitaire," a deliberate attempt to encirclement after the first World War; they recall the aid to the "Whites" and the expeditionary forces into Russian territory. If ever they conclude that "peaceful coexistence" is impossible, the Politburo could launch a "preventive war" whenever the occasion seemed most propitious.

It is essential to make the potential enemy respectful of our power, but it is unwise so to stimulate fear as to precipitate rash action. That is why it is the inescapable function of political authority to determine how much preparedness is necessary for negotiation from situations of strength, and how much more preparedness would eventuate in so sharp an arms race as to bring on war. No rule of thumb has the least utility in deciding how much is too much. The practical course is to combine rearmament with alert seizure of every opportunity for useful negotiation. If more and more irritations are ameliorated by negotiation, the evidence of adequacy in armament becomes cumulative.

The sterility of recent negotiations offers clear proof that an adequate situation of strength has not yet been attained. Meanwhile the Russian use of the veto, the abstention of the Soviet Union from many world agencies, its neglect to abide by the agreements it has made, its aggressive acts have eventuated in the Korean imbroglio. That has all but dissipated the myth of genuine global collective action. Votes are not action. The plain fact is that most of the world is neutral in action, some nations in word, others in thought. The burden in life and treasure is carried by very few and they are not in full agreement about either means or ends.

All this strongly suggests the validity of the concept of a limited war for limited objectives. For some months we have observed the tussle between those who would deal with one issue at a time and those who have fully accepted the theses of the World Wars—force without stint or limit to the point of "total war," involvement of as many nations as possible rather than as few as possible, anticipation of a general settlement rather than a modestly specific agreement on a few subjects.

The issue has seldom been sharply defined and the dilemma has rarely been clearly stated. Indeed there is evidence that most people are utterly confused. The key to the confusion is that Korea epitomizes the tension between competing concepts—the global theory on the one hand and the limited specific objective upon the other. Unhappily almost no one has been wholly consistent in supporting one view or the other. Minds have wavered between the two basic ideas as the tide of battle swayed.

Nonetheless there are definite indications of the competition of the opposing concepts. The horror of the British when President Truman in an offhand moment said "there has been active consideration" of the use of the atomic bomb, their resistance to advance beyond the narrow waist of North Korea to the Yalu, their refusal to sanction the "hot pursuit" of enemy planes into Manchuria—all suggest at least some concept of a limited war for limited objectives. On the other hand, the participation of several nations (including your own) as active combatants or by token forces, the pleas for more men from more nations are among many evidences of an effort to expand the economic as well as the military phase of the war toward the global concept.

Angry discussion of what may properly be regarded as a "satisfactory" settlement shows that many feel no confidence whatever in the validity of limited operations or limited objectives once strife has begun. Indeed they denounce those who make any such approach as though they were not merely in error, but deliberately treasonous. Their view is that any departure from "all-out" tactics and an "all-out" settlement has no justification whatever.

If Korea is one manifestation of the competition between two fundamental ideas as to proper procedure in the search for peace, we have other indications of a tendency to revive some of the 19th century concepts. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization, despite its vast sweep, attempts to handle a limited range of problems in a specific area with which the United Nations could not cope effectively. In the same way the new mutual defense agreements between the United States, Australia, and New Zealand make a limited approach to a defined objective.

Those are evidences of a dawning realization that many of the world's problems are like food: they cannot be taken all at once or in too large amounts. Like the items in a well-balanced diet, it is necessary to take one bite at a time. The simple truth is that there is so much diversity of interest, even among co-operative nations, that the attempt to deal with everything at once is almost certain to break down.

History strongly suggests that limited action is more conducive to peace. Bismarck offers the classic example of a statesman who followed the doctrine of limited objectives. He abhorred "total" war not on moral grounds, nor for humanitarian reasons, much less upon sentimental bases; to him it was the height of stupidity, because it would prevent reaping the fruits of victory. "War," he said, "should be conducted in such a way as to make peace possible." We do not have to admire everything that Bismarck did to be willing to accept those of his ideas which proved sound.

The reality is that in the long run every peace is a negotiated peace. That the treaty must be acceptable to the defeated nation is re-enforced by the nature—and the cost—of modern warfare. After victory is won, the triumphant nation is virtually exhausted. For many other reasons the moment of victory is brief and the settlements made in that moment are brittle unless they are satisfactory, not superficially but fundamentally, to the defeated. For politics is continuous, while war, even a World War is episodic.

This is evidenced by the fact that nothing is writ larger upon the pages of history than the reversal of alliances. Within the few years since the last war we have seen a reversal of orientation regarding Italy, Japan, Yugoslavia, and Germany.

What of Russia? Is there no hope of attaining, if not peace, at least a mitigation of the cold war, and a tolerable *modus vivendi*? Is peaceful coexistence beyond the range of possibility? It will be urged that the ideological barrier is insuperable, that the contrast between the democratic West and the totalitarian East is so great that no accommodation is conceivable.

When that is said, we do well to remember that history is long and memory short. For many years Mohammedans and Christians carried on religious wars. Their enmity was so profound and so implacable that no middle ground seemed available. Now Moslems and Christians manage to live beside each other by curbing their religious intolerance. They no longer use force for purposes of proselytizing; neither vows the extinction of the other. Indeed Turkey has demonstrated its capacity for democratic government and is a member of NATO, and a valued participant in the United Nations' resistance to aggression in Korea. This is clear enough evidence that an ancient barrier has fallen; coexistence between Moslems and Christians is a modern reality.

There was a time, also, when the principles of monarchism and legitimacy were so passionately espoused in Russia and most of Europe that it seemed cordial peaceful relations with the revolutionary upstart republic in America would be impossible. Yet the time came when, during our Civil War, friendly gestures upon the part of Russia were helpful to the Union.

Today we tend to regard the Russian state as it now exists under the Bolsheviks as permanent; but it is scarcely more than thirty years old. In the course of that thirty years it has gone through several phases, during some of which it was, for a time, co-operative. The name of Litvinoff evokes memories of those hopeful days. It would be as grave a mistake to regard the current phase as ultimate as it would be to say that it is likely to pass in a brief period of time.

Of this we may be sure: the present condition of Russian policy is not permanent; it is certain to change. When and how the change will come, what will precipitate it, what direction it will then take are questions I am not called upon to answer. Only the future can resolve the riddle. But of the certainty of change, I feel deep assurance. In the light of recent assumptions of Russian permanence, it is almost amusing to go back to the early years of Bolshevik control. There was constant prediction that the Bolsheviks would promptly be driven out. There was no expectation that Russia under their leadership could ever become a dominant force over nearly half mankind. That obviously was a wrong estimate. We are likely now to make an equally wrong estimate by assuming that what has happened is permanent and that there will never be a change for the better.

In the meantime a policy of limited objectives can ease some tensions and help preserve us from all-out war which time, and a change in Russia or her satellites, may make wholly unnecessary.

There is a further overwhelming argument for limited objectives which has seldom, if ever, been mentioned: such a programme gives the smaller nations a more adequate role in international affairs. With the global mood prevailing, the "Big Four" made the grand design in 1918; only Roosevelt and Churchill drafted the Atlantic Charter; the heads of the "great powers" met at Casablanca, Cairo, Yalta, and Potsdam. In such an atmosphere it is easy to make decisions which commit the smaller powers without giving them a chance to be heard; some of their special interests may easily be submerged because there is no spokesman to call them to world attention at the decisive moment. Regarding so vast a hazard as war now implies, they want to be heard—and should be.

When the great issues are broken up into their component parts, when limited objectives are sought by limited means, the role of the small states can more readily be acknowledged and taken into account. Their interests can be more effectively protected, their participation in the search for solutions more genuinely welcomed. Such procedures would mitigate their justified resentments at being treated somewhat as satellites are handled by Russia (though for wholly different reasons).

Such considerations are re-enforced by another fact: wisdom is not distributed in the same ratio as power. If it were, peace would become synonymous with victory. Experience demonstrates that there is sometimes a negative correlation between wisdom and power. The very sense of might may lead to an act of power rather than the use of judgment; it is easier to seize the sword and cut the Gordian knot than patiently and skillfully to reduce it. On the other hand, those who are unable to make a drastic change in the situation by the use of force bring to bear patience, wisdom, and skill, if for no better reason than because they are the only instrumentalities available.

In summary: if we want to avert a third world war in a single generation, we must do three things. First and foremost: keep our friendship in a constant repair. The range, the intimacy, the effectiveness of the co-operation of your country and mine are among the wonders of the age. Like other wonders, this friendship requires persistent attention.

The second step is to postpone our global dreams. Nothing in this argument denigrates the United Nations. Indeed, if the policy here advocated is followed, that overburdened and all too frustrated body would be strengthened. Marginal issues would be decentralized and kept from needless embroilment with matters to which they have no—or very remote—relationship. We should pray and work for that golden day when all men not only realize that they are brothers, but act upon the realization. The record reveals that the attainment of that goal in our time, if not beyond our physical power, is beyond our spiritual capacities.

Finally, we must be patient with the burdens imposed by essential rearmament until the attainment of situations of strength makes our enemy see the wisdom of negotiation upon a broader base than is now possible.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. E. W. Westrick, Vice-President, American Men's Club of Toronto.

"IS THE BUSINESSMAN COMING INTO HIS OWN?"

An Address by

CLARENCE B. RANDALL
President, Inland Steel Company, Chicago, Ill.

Thursday, February 12th, 1953

CHAIRMAN: The President, Mr. John W. Griffin.

MR. GRIFFIN: Members and Guests of The Empire Club of Canada: our speaker today is Mr. Clarence B. Randall, President, Inland Steel Co., Chicago. Mr. Randall was born in New York State and educated at Harvard University. Upon graduation from the Harvard Law School in 1915 he opened a law practice in the heart of the iron ore country in Michigan's Upper Peninsula and remained there for ten years with the exception of two that were spent as an infantry officer.

In 1925, while quietly but successfully working at his profession, Mr. Randall was offered a position on the executive staff of Inland Steel Company. He had never had any previous dealings with this firm and, as he confesses now, he did not even know the names of its executive officers when he went to Chicago at their request. Inland was well satisfied with its new acquisition and he became vice president in 1930 and president in 1949.

Despite his great success in the industrial world, Mr. Randall has found time to do much more than most senior officers. When I say "more" I am not referring to the fact that he is, or has been, a member of the Board of Overseers of Harvard University, a trustee of the University of Chicago, a trustee of Wellesley College, President of the Harvard Alumni Association, General Chairman of the Chicago Community Fund, trustee of a Chicago museum and Steel Consultant to the Marshall Plan in Paris.

When I say "more" I mean that he has found the time to evolve and set down a philosophy, a creed, a statement of personal beliefs on the vast subject of the place of business and free enterprise in the world in which we live today. This is perhaps the greatest of his many contributions to the life of our time.

Gentlemen, it is my privilege almost every week to introduce "top brass". Today I present to you "top steel".

MR. CLARENCE B. RANDALL: Mr. Chairman, Distinguished Guests and Gentlemen:

It is certainly a great pleasure to be here as your guest, with such old friends as Hugh Hilton and Jim Duncan, one of the most articulate speakers and one of the most sought after; and men like General Ritchie and others about whom I have heard so much.

I am bound to say that this is a great distinction for me. Make no mistake about it; I know, and everyone in the States knows, that the Empire Club in Toronto is the top forum in Canada. To be asked to come here is in itself an honour.

I am embarrassed, because twice I had to regret invitations to come, and it is a most happy coincidence that this engagement which, as your President knows is one of long standing, happens to coincide with events which shortly may bring our Company into Canada in a very big way. I want to say when we do come we shall come with great enthusiasm and in the hope that we may become good Canadians.

Actually, as your President has indicated, I was "trapped" into this thing, trapped by my own big mouth. I don't remember who it was who said, "O, that mine enemy might write a book!" Over a year ago I was persuaded to put my philosophy of business into a book, the argument being: "You are always yapping about Free

Enterprise; you claim the great educational institutions are not teaching the young men and young women that way of life; we have plenty of books by people who have never practised it; why don't you put your philosophy on the printed page?" So I devoted last winter to trying to put it on paper.

It happens to be my firm belief that if the businessman is to come back to leadership in the community at large, he has to get up and say what he believes. He has to become articulate. Thus, I have been trying to preach the gospel that business men must know what they believe, and tell it. And now I have been asked to practice what I preach.

I hope it does not offend you of this great institution when I confess at this moment I have made no preparation whatever about what I am going to say today. You are going to get what my wife gets at supper, and what the boys at the office get. I have been having great difficulty all morning on the telephone explaining this to the boys of the press. For once, the press will have to hear a speech. I have always wondered what they would do with the editions on the street containing the prepared speech, if the guy took a powder and did not make it.

When business men fumble around in front of the microphone, I often wonder if it is because they have nothing to say, and I wonder why it should be so hard to have something to say. Take any of these master salesmen, and Canada has many of these specialists, their timing is good and their anecdotes are precise; the hearty laugh comes just at the right time, and the hand-shake is vigorous. They never seem to fumble around for words when they are trying to sell their busy customer. If we understand freedom and our economic way of life, if we really know what it is about, can't we say those things too?

So I have cultivated the technique of speaking without notes and manuscript, and without preparation. I have discovered the most soothing gesture in the world that a public speaker can make is to turn out the reading light. A kind of relaxation comes over the audience, because when you do that, they know it is YOU, not the polished phrases of the public relations expert. (Mine sits here and he does not know what I am going to say.)

Anyway, the words I am going to speak today, I can pronounce. Any books I may quote, I have read. That is why I won't quote from Aristotle.

My title today is, "IS THE BUSINESSMAN COMING INTO HIS OWN?" and I want to make an offer to refund the luncheon cost to any member who finds he does not get what he expected, because when I say "Is the businessman coming into his own?" I don't mean, is he going to get his? I mean, is he going to come into the full evaluation of his social responsibility in this critical world?

Something happened in my country last November 4. What a field day the historians fifty years hence are going to have trying to figure out what that was! We certainly don't know today what it was. We do know it was something very deep, very vital and very substantial.

I know what it was NOT. It was not a mandate to give the United States back to the businessman.

It was a turn toward freedom, it was a turn toward the substitution of the wisdom of the many for the wisdom of the few. This much is true: the result of our election was a vote to give the businessman a second chance. No more! It is no day for rejoicing. Business men have been coming up out of the bombshelters since November 4; some who have not seen the light in twenty years. As a matter of fact, some think they have all taken the next train for Washington. If this thing goes on we might have the country's business run by office boys—and that might be something of an improvement in some ways. They say President Eisenhower's cabinet is made up of seven millionaires and one plumber.

But a frightful responsibility has come to the American business community, and all thoughtful businessmen wonder whether we are worthy of the responsibilities that have come to us and how we shall measure up.

As Hugh Hilton knows, we now have come to see that we in the steel industry have had something to do with

EMPIRE
OF
CANADA

February 12th: G. B. Elwin, General Sir Neil Ritchie, the Speaker, Clarence Randall, the President, John Griffin, H. G. Hilton and J. S. Duncan.

what occurred last November because of the way we stood up against a union-political alliance in the 1952 steel strike. From early in December of 1951 until July, 1952, hour after hour, day after day, we were trying to measure up to what we thought was our responsibility, and at times it was almost hopeless. I was privileged to sit with those stout-hearted men who, having taken a beating for twenty years, decided to stand and fight. We did stand and fight, and I think my industry was returned to a position of leadership in our country, such as I had always hoped it might have.

The three great modern issues were involved in the 1952 steel strike.

We had, first, the question of inflation; a wage demand that was fantastic, based not at all upon added wealth to the nation's economy, and, therefore, sheer inflation. We did not win that battle in full because the political alliance was too tough, but we made major inroads upon it, and for the first time since organized labor in the United States achieved its present monopolistic power, we induced a national union to take less than the Wage Board and the President had said was fair.

In addition to inflation, we had the issue of personal freedom. We won that hands down when nobody thought we could, and today no man need join or remain in the Steel Workers' Union in order to have a job in our plant or the other steel plants of the United States.

Then we had the issue of Constitutional Government. I think when the history of our times is written the turnback from Socialism will date from the decision of Judge Pine. His words will rank with those of Jefferson and Marshall and Madison. He did his duty as he saw it, and returned the United States to constitutional government. I refer, of course, to the decision of Judge David A. Pine in the Federal District Court of the District of Columbia on April 29, 1952, in which he ruled that there was "utter and complete lack of authoratative support" for President Truman's seizure of the steel mills.

I say that that battle in which our industry participated, seems to have had some part at least in bringing into sharp focus for the American people the issue of personal freedom and government by law and not by men.

And so today, the business community in the States finds itself with a second chance. It is a time for heart-searching, and it is a time to ask the basic question of what are the values that we seek to preserve and what are the obligations of those of us who are privileged to be in business. We must remember that this Free Enterprise system, which Canada and the United States are joined together to preserve, is the gift of Society. It is bestowed upon us as a privilege. One must not accept the privileges and not meet the obligations, and I propose to talk a little bit about the two sides of that equation.

That the system works needs no further documentation whatever. We have evidence of that in Canada and the United States. It is the only system in the world that works, and let's not tinker with it until we are sure we have something better. When I was in college the Fabian socialists were propounding an attractive theory, and it was a wonderful thing to debate upon at Harvard, Yale and other institutions of learning, but it had never been tried. Now Socialism is no longer a theory. It is a dismal failure. It has been tried, and its grim austerity has been proven. You men who know England know that. The whole steel fraternity of England are my friends. I have seen them going through nationalization, and I have seen them trying to fight back.

I know the Continent fairly well now, and I have seen the dismal effects of central planning as a substitute for the ingenuity and drive and vitality that comes from an economy free to use the best of methods or practises or procedures. This system that Canada and the United States are joined in preserving won the First War, the Second War, is winning the cold war, and is the sole basis upon which the free world stands.

Why then have the businessmen in the United States been in the doghouse for twenty years? It seems upon reflection that it was because we put the emphasis on self and not on the public welfare. We were concentrating on the privilege side and ignoring the responsibility side.

There was a social vacuum, and the New Deal and Communism had their roots in the same soil—the exploitation of human misery. The vacuum occurred because we Free Enterprisers had walked out on the problem. And if now that this great new chance comes to us we once more concentrate on self and put the public in second place, we will have had our last chance, and the Free Enterprise system will go down the drain.

The strength of our system lies in the fact that it does preserve the age-old principle of incentive. It does reward effort; a man is compensated in proportion to his effort. As society is organized man must be kept at his task. Russia does that with the whip. Our society keeps the man to his task by internal impulse; a man works because he wants to, and that is because we provide incentives. But when we give the man the privilege of advancing his own interest in society, we say to him that for the preservation of this way of life, he must impose his own restraints on his own conduct.

He may press his advantages as far as he can, if he stops short before he begins to damage others. When businessmen condemn the shackling complexity of laws, they must recognize that that is society exerting itself when there has been failure of self-restraint.

What then is the measure of the social responsibility of business? What are the obligations of the businessman to society?

In the first place, it is for him to observe the full integrity of the market economy. The market is the policeman on selfishness and greed in the Enterprise System and competition is what keeps us lean and strong. It is the guarantee to the public that the whole thing is on a level. And so I say that any businessman who, by a sneak telephone call, or other method, veers from the free market economy, is guilty of subversion, as truly as the subversion of a foreign agent.

His next responsibility is to the people, whom he has been trusted to lead. We hear a great deal about natural resources, about your great Canadian natural resources and your great future. But, my friends, it was not natural resources that made my country great, and natural resources will not make your country great; it takes human resources. The first business of the businessman is to develop the resource of men and women in his company. That means again putting self in second place. A man who is charged with business responsibility must put the institution first. He must not consider exploitation of the institution for his selfish advantage. If he gives himself a salary and a bonus, he creates the impression that the company is being run for him. If he puts out a stock plan that is only for himself and the insiders he is not playing the game.

Then there is the obligation of the businessman to the public his business serves. It is of the utmost importance that the service and the product be constantly improving, and always equal to the best in the industry. That takes ingenuity and courage. It is lacking somewhat on the other side of the water. I feel that the chief aim over there is to retain what there is rather than to develop new markets.

Of course there is the obligation of the businessman to the community in which the business lives—the city, the province or the Dominion, or the city, the state and the national level with us; and that is a very, very broad obligation. Take, first of all, the services that are represented by the Community Chest. I happen to be a great believer in the Community Chest, or the Community Fund as we call it in Chicago. It is a function of Democracy in this country that has no counter-part in any other part of the world.

What happens in this great growing country of yours, when a company starts a new project? I am sure my good friend, Mr. James Murdock will not object to my speaking about Noranda's project at Gaspé. What did they do first? They build a community, a good place for people to live, with schools and churches and all the other things that go to make decent living. That is a very obvious cost of production when business goes into a new area. The same problem exists in Toronto and Chicago.

There is also the obligation to preserve our great system of education. In the United States we have a dual system of education. We have the State universities maintained at public expense, and we have privately endowed institutions. Each complements the other. The State university preserves democracy; it must take all comers. That gives the state universities sometimes a tendency toward a lower education level. The privately endowed institutions set the tone of instruction for the great state universities because they are free to teach what they believe to be the truth, and if it were not for the privately endowed institutions, the greedy hand of politicians would be laid upon the state institutions.

It is a direct obligation of business to help maintain the great institutions of higher learning from which we draw our scientists. It has been easy enough to sell boards of directors that they should support technical institutions because they can see that we need engineers, but it has not been so easy to sell them on the necessity of research into the social sciences in the liberal arts institutions.

Yet, the great problems that management has been called upon to face, such as the steel strike of 1952 have not been caused by any lack of technical knowledge. No, the problems that play havoc today are those of human behaviour, and it stands to reason that the businessman of the future must be wise and instructed in the problems of human behaviours. As I have said in another connection, we know a great deal in the steel industry about what causes friction, when metal is rubbed on metal, but we know almost nothing about the nature of the friction which results when one man rubs another the wrong way.

Research into the social sciences is at the moment more important to industry than research into the physical sciences. We are pushing that frontier back so far that we have not men wise enough to apply all that we have already achieved in scientific learning.

Another responsibility of the business man is that of participating in the political life of his nation at every level. Obviously the business man who is wise will never attempt to influence the vote of anyone, but he need not stay silent, because if he is able enough to carry his business responsibilities he ought to be able enough to have intelligent opinions, and let them become a part of the great public debate.

I hope that in my country we will have a great deal more of lend-lease between business and government. I wish people could realize that a man can be honest even if he does not throw his securities in the ash can. They say now no one can work for General Motors unless he sells his government bonds. I hope the day will come when men in business may operate on an interchangeable basis with government to a greater extent.

I wish it could come about that young men at about the age of thirty-five who have just begun to prove themselves in business, might be loaned to the government. They would come back humbler. I happen to have been tossed into the government in 1948. I knew a great many more of the answers when I flew the ocean going on a Marshall Plan mission than I did after exposure to the problems overseas. I resolved not to give the short answers, thereafter, to problems I did not understand.

We in the business community must search out the meaning of freedom in its various manifestations. We must search out the enemies of freedom wherever they can be found, so that we may recognize their weapons, the equipment they use to destroy freedom. Once we have ourselves determined the true nature of freedom, we must dedicate all of our power, all of our capacity, every act of our daily lives to the preservation of that freedom.

CHAIRMAN: Mr. Randall will be glad to have some questions. May we please have some queries?

MR. RANDALL: (After a silence) I am surprised. Is this a new custom in your country? At a group luncheon in the United States there are many questions.

I might tell you, while you are overcoming your inhibitions, one of the most dramatic experiences I have had with questions. I was addressing a group of graduate students at the University of Chicago, and a young man rose at the back of the room—and I might say this is the only occasion I ever answered a question when the answer sounded as good at breakfast as it did that night. He said, "May I ask a question?" I said, "Certainly, sir." He said, "How much is your salary?" And the answer I made was "Not enough. Is there another question?"

MR. MORLEY: How long is it going to take for the average businessman to learn to talk on his feet? And it is a good question.

MR. RANDALL: Not very long. I have only been at it 62 years. A gentleman asked me after my television appearance in which I attacked President Truman's seizure of the steel industry, "How did you do it?" I said, "It was easy; I have been at it all my life."

Many of you doubtless have sons at college. I weighed 100 pounds when I was there, and I could not play football. My mother wanted me to do something for dear old Harvard. She said, "Why don't you try debating?"

QUESTION: You mentioned the fact that companies could do a lot in meeting the needs of housing in new communities to an extent they can not in developed cities such as Toronto and Chicago. Is it not that the need is more obvious and pressing?

MR. RANDALL: Every phase of the service to the underprivileged is a phase of business obligation. Take in Chicago, there is a coloured hospital. Personally, I don't think there should be "coloured" hospitals, but we have one and it is a fine one, and the coloured populations can't support it. My company employs a great many coloured employees, and it is part of our job to help them obtain this health service. You can do everything you want to within the plant in connection with safety, and you can provide every protective appliance you can work out, and you will have accidents. Why? Because what goes on in that man's life outside of the plant has to do with accidents. It may be that his wife has cancer, or it may be his son is a juvenile thief, or he has a wayward daughter. All those problems that come to people are reflected in the plant. They make costs in terms of absences and otherwise. They draw down the effectiveness of the whole operation.

Every phase of well-being in the community is the businessman's job.

Now housing in a great city: I am opposed to having the employer build houses. I think there is enough trouble in the relationship of employer and employee without adding a landlord and tenant relationship. I think also every good American should own something, and his own home should be first on the list. Nevertheless, lack of good housing can cause the strangulation of any plant. You in Canada are on the brink of tremendous things. When plants are being laid out they seem to have a large area around them, but twenty-five years from now, they will have gone so far beyond the original plan that the present houses of workmen will be engulfed by the plant and the men will have to drive ten to fifteen miles and they won't want to do it. We are on the lake front and the industrial development behind us has reached the point that the young man who wants a little cottage must go out to the periphery.

We don't produce results by building houses for them but by assisting in their financing. If there is no good place near your plant to live, the men are not going to work in your plant. It is a problem which merits our attention, and it seems to me that the plant community must be a good place in which to bring up a family. Take the question of character training. What use is it to give a man the best technical training if he is immoral or unmoral? The most significant thing today is character, and how can a businessman fail to see that it is a proper charge on the business system to advance in every way moral training and training in character.

QUESTION: We have seen the A. & P. Company and now the DuPont Company attacked in the United States by the Government primarily because they are large. In view of what you have said, would you care to enlarge on that?

MR. RANDALL: David Lilienthal has just written a new book directed to the fact that bigness is a basic misconception in American life. I suggest you read the book because you have to have bigness in a big country. We can't make steel in a corner bakery. You have to have a tremendous big plant. And you will notice during the war how our Government turned to the big companies to do the big job that had to be done. The concept that bigness is bad is a weakness in our mental attitude toward our economy, and Lilienthal made a very good study of it. The DuPont Company, as I remember it, had spent 27 million dollars on the development of nylon before a pound of nylon was put into merchandise. Who can do that but a *big* institution. If you want to do that by the government, you have taken a step toward nationization.

My friends, it has been nice knowing you; it has been grand to be with you.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Sir Neil Ritchie.

"AUTOMOBILES OF THE FUTURE"

An Address by

PROFESSOR EDGAR ALFRED ALLCUT,
of the University of Toronto

Thursday, February 19th, 1953

CHAIRMAN: The President, Mr. John W. Griffin.

MR. GRIFFIN: Members and Guests of The Empire Club of Canada: our speaker to-day is Mr. Edgar Alfred Allcut, Professor of Mechanical Engineering, and Head of the Department at the University of Toronto. Mr. Allcut was born in England and received his professional education at the University of Birmingham from which he was graduated with honours in 1908. His career has embraced industrial experience including a period spent with the Austin Motor Company in the capacity of Chief Inspector of Materials. He has served on numerous committees in all levels of Government and in 1950 was Chairman of the Committee on Atmospheric Polution in Canada and was formerly Chairman of the Smoke Abatement Advisory Board of the City of Toronto. He has advised the Province of Ontario on matters of mine safety and has been a member of Committees of the National Research Council dealing with motor fuels. Gentlemen, it is a pleasure to present to you a most distinguished engineer who will address us on the subject, "Automobiles of the Future".

PROFESSOR ALLCUT: Spectacular developments in the scientific field during the past few decades have so stimulated the public appetite that it will swallow anything, whether reasonable or not, and fantastic forecasts have been correspondingly numerous. This situation was predicted many years ago by the prophet Joel, who said "Your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams and your young men shall see visions" but, although I may fairly be classed in one of these categories, I am tempted to add, with T. S. Eliot "I am *no* prophet—and here's no great matter". Nevertheless, some comfort may be derived from a remark of Lord Byron, viz.: "The best of the prophets of the future is the *past*". Here I feel more at home, for all of us, without exception, base our expectations for the future on past experience, expressed either through a series of curves or in some less formal manner.

Granted then, that the objective is to move people or things along a highway of some kind, it is pertinent to enquire into the nature of the problem and the reasons why past developments occurred as they did, rather than in some other way. As soon as we get away from animal or wind power (which are inadequate or variable, or both) we are faced with the fact that, for transportation purposes, energy must either be transmitted or stored. The former principle is exemplified by the street car, which receives energy through wires, ropes or rails but, in the very nature of things, this method of supplying power is restricted to definite and prescribed routes. The use of *stored energy*, therefore, provides the only logical solution of the problem and, as far as we can foresee, this situation is likely to continue. From time to time, attempts have been made to store electrical or some other form of energy in appropriate quantities, but usually the apparatus required has been too costly, heavy, bulky or limited in capacity for mobile use and, at present, there is available no reasonable alternative to the generation of power from burning fuel. Many references have been made recently to the possible use of atomic fission for propulsion purposes, but development along these lines appears to be unlikely on account of its inherent hazards, the amount of shielding required and the cost and complication of the apparatus.

The Mighty Atom

Our news-hounds, on sensation bent
Now follow the atomic scent
And calculate, with grim aplomb,
The power of the atomic bomb.

Then, following their fancy's flight,
They vision on the topmost height
The genius who, in ivory tower,
Unleashes cast atomic power.

His tiny engine in its cell
Propels us faster far then "Shell"
Undaunted by the steepest hill
(When fed with an atomic pill).

And in the air, atomic planes
Are plentiful as railroad trains,
While eyes protrude beyond their sockets
In following atomic rockets

Their prophecies are strange and wild
With Pelion and Ossa piled;
And engineers, in boredom sunk,
Endure their sub-atomic bunk.

Of the various kinds of fuel available, I expect the use of liquid hydrocarbons to continue for a considerable time to come, because they contain a large amount of potential energy in a given weight and space, are easy to handle and burn readily with little residue. The chief objections to their continued use are that our supplies of petroleum are limited and that nearly half of the world's known oil reserves are situated in the Middle East, where their use may be denied to us at any time. These resources may be amplified by the employment of home-grown alcohols, by the liquefaction of gases (such as methane), by the extraction of oil from shales and by the liquefaction of coal. The United States, for example, now has to import about ten per cent of its total oil consumption from foreign sources and has invested over ten million dollars in a coal hydrogenation plant. Even though Canada has made great strides in oil discovery and production, she is not yet self-sufficient and, moreover, in the comparatively near future, she may be called upon to supply some part of the United States' demand. It may be well, therefore, that the amount, kind and cost of fuel available will dictate the future trend of design in the transportation field. The steam engine, which was first used by Cugnot in 1769 and by Murdock, an assistant of James Watt, in 1782, has been tried repeatedly without much success and, even if it were suitable for general use, it is still dependent on liquid fuel. The gas turbine also employs liquid fuel but, apart from this circumstance, I cannot believe that the small high speed unit, with its inherently low efficiency, will be widely employed in passenger cars. Difficulties of servicing and maintenance alone, will probably tend to delay, and perhaps prevent, its employment in that field. It seems probable, therefore, that the reciprocating engine—the old "up-and-downer" as Whittle calls it—will continue to be the principal prime mover for some time to come, as it has been since the advent of the first high speed engine of Daimler in 1885. This first engine ran at 900 revolutions per minute and the car had a maximum speed of ten miles per hour. While the automotive engine is substantially the same principle as it was sixty-eight years ago, there have been many modifications in matters of detail, with corresponding improvements in power, flexibility, comfort and reliability, combined with successive reductions in cost. I will not weary you by enumerating these, as they are familiar to most, if not to all of you, but future trends in this regard will evidently be governed partly by technical considerations and partly by the customer's requirements or prejudices. In considering these matters, I propose to ignore freak cars (and customers)—they, like the poor, are always with us—and to concentrate on the low priced family car, such as is purchased by the average user.

His first requirements are probably safety and reliability. With regard to the former it seems likely that some kind of maximum speed control or governor, geared to the speed of the car (not the engine) will be imposed as a result of popular demand. Some means must be provided for improving visibility, particularly through the rear window, and automatic dipping of headlights is also necessary to reduce road hazards. The possible use of polaroid for eliminating glare is attractive, but has the objections that, to be effective, it must be installed on all cars and also that the amount of light reaching the road from the headlights is seriously reduced. The reduction of the carbon monoxide hazard is associated with better no-draft ventilation. The ventilating air should be taken from the side of the car as otherwise, carbon monoxide is likely to enter the air intake from the exhaust of the same or another car. This hazard is most insidious, as the gas has no smell, and it is probable that many unexplained accidents result from drowsiness induced by the dangerous practice of driving cars in cold weather with all windows shut. Brakes are now reasonably reliable, but they may be improved possibly by using compressed air or some other form of power application. This is of doubtful value, however, as too rapid deceleration is dangerous to the occupants of the car. The extended use of puncture-proof tires is also a very desirable safety feature.

Low cost is likely to assume greater importance, both as regards initial price and upkeep. This calls for simplicity, greater accessibility of working parts and perhaps the elimination of unnecessary fancy gadgets. The fuel costs, in any individual case, are governed by power, speed, acceleration and engine efficiency. The small high speed, low power engine is generally economical and convenient for city driving and its use will probably extend as fuel becomes more expensive. For the rest, a limit of approximately 100 horse power is ample for speed, acceleration and manoeuverability and more powerful engines merely constitute a temptation to the reckless and irresponsible type of driver, who is the principal road hazard at the present time. Many fuel saving devices are offered from time to time, some promising fabulous economies, but few of them are of any value. It would appear that the use of higher compression ratios, probably with the injection of fuel into the cylinders, rather than through a carburettor, offers the best prospect of increased efficiency and economy. It may also reduce the demand for high octane fuels, most of which contain lead. As this metal is likely to be in short supply, the reduction of lead consumption may, in itself, be beneficial. The use of substitute fuels for gasoline may also be facilitated by this means—though, if and when these become popular, the government will probably raise their prices by increased taxation. I expect also to see a greater trend toward the use of hydraulic transmission of power to the wheels, but this is already under way and does not call for further comment.

Comfort and appearance are important factors. The maintenance of a reasonably even temperature by insulation and/or air conditioning is receiving more attention than heretofore and it may be that a small unit of the "Servel" or other similar type, having no moving parts and operated by heat from the exhaust, will heat the car in winter and cool it in summer. The reduction of driving fatigue by the provision of power controls is also gaining ground, but it is undesirable to make the driver so comfortable that he will go to sleep at the wheel. Streamlining is only effective at high speeds and consequently should be considered mainly as an appearance factor. The proposed use of plastics for body work is attractive and its extended use is quite a possibility but, as yet, too little is known about its cost, ease of repair, durability and other similar attributes to enable its potentialities to be assessed. It has the obvious advantages, however, of freedom from corrosion and "built in" colour. Light metals such as aluminium and magnesium are possible alternatives to steel but are not free from corrosion troubles. If their costs are reasonable, however, it is probable that these practical difficulties will be overcome by some form of special treatment.

Many other aspects of automobile design could be discussed, but time will not permit—indeed, in my preceding remarks, many important factors have been treated too superficially, but the subject is a broad one and it had to be broadly treated. Seldom does it happen nowadays that new processes or products come from flashes of inspiration—in fact, inspiration is usually the result of perspiration. Progress is made, in most instances, by a tedious lengthy research in the laboratory or shop to discover whether or not an idea, which is intrinsically sound, will prove to be workable and economical in practice. Then it has to be proven on a practical scale before it can be commercially applied. The customer cannot be used as a sort of "guinea pig", to try out new ideas—the stakes are too high and the consequences of failure too severe. For this reason, the changes that do occur are generally gradual and few of them are sensational. From my previous remarks, therefore, it is evident that I expect future developments in the automotive field to be by *evolution* rather than by *revolution*. No prophet is infallible, however, and some entirely unexpected and unforeseen development may change the situation substantially.

"So, while the crowd gives tongue
And prophets, old or young
Bawl out their strange despair
Or fall in worship there,
Let them *applaud* the image—or condemn!"
(Benèt)

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. Warren Hastings.

"AMALGAMATION VS. CUMMING PLAN"

An Address by

CONTROLLER LESLIE H. SAUNDERS

Thursday, February 25th, 1953

CHAIRMAN: The President, Mr. John W. Griffin.

MR. GRIFFIN: Members and Guests of The Empire Club of Canada: The background material for today's address to The Empire Club is to be found in the headlines of today's papers. I daresay that never before in the history of this Club has a President been privileged to introduce a speaker on a subject that was so topical, so timely, so closely geared to a leading question of the hour. For several years now public discussion has raged about the subject of the amalgamation of Toronto with its satellite municipalities or some measure of co-operation and co-ordination of their essential public services. I think the fear existed in many of our minds that this question might become another St. Lawrence Seaway issue, a topic often discussed but never decided. Just twenty-four hours ago our subject "Amalgamation vs. Cumming Plan" was a matter of public debate and private speculation. Today it is the subject of formal resolution on the floor of the Provincial Legislature. While there have been, are today and undoubtedly will be in the future many opinions about the bill which Premier Frost introduced in the Provincial Legislature yesterday afternoon, nevertheless, gentlemen, there is a virtue in certainty. There is value in knowing where you stand even if you don't like your position there. Amalgamation, expansion and growth are nothing new in the history of our great community. The original little garrison settlement of 1793 was bounded roughly by George Street, Duchess Street, Barkley Street and the waterfront. In 1834 when the city of Toronto came into existence the boundaries were approximately Niagara Street, Dundas Street, Parliament Street and the waterfront. We have come a long way since that time.

Our speaker today, Controller Leslie H. Saunders, is a native of London, England, who came to Canada as a boy. His qualifications to speak to us on the subject he has chosen are well established as he has spent ten years as a member of the Toronto City Council. The Empire Club of Canada, whose real field of interest is Canada and her place within what our beloved Queen called "The great Imperial Family to which we all belong" is proud and happy to devote a meeting to a consideration of this vital municipal question.

CONTROLLER LESLIE H. SAUNDERS: Thank you, Mr. President for the welcome and for the invitation to be here. You honoured me in asking me to speak on this perhaps most important subject that will be before us in a good many days; and I want to thank my colleagues of Council for doing me the honour of coming and bearing with me, because much of the material I have to produce has been rather routinely referred to before but some of you may not have all the information about what brought the city's amalgamation question to a head.

Then I also realize my appearance here is somewhat of an anti-climax. You know now, if you did not know before, what exactly the Government's attitude is.

I have broken down my talk under a few headings:

(1) What the City asked for?—I think it is well to bring ourselves up to date.
(2) Why the City asked for amalgamation.
(3) Some facts about the situation at that time.
(4) The Cumming Report.

(5) The Reaction of the City to it.
(6) What the Cumming Report actually recommended and if I have time, a few remarks on what has happened since I prepared these notes (Bill 80).
(7) Then a summary.

(1) *In February, 1950, the City of Toronto made application for amalgamation* of 10 suburban municipalities, plus parts of two others. The parts were in Etobicoke and Scarboro. We revised it in May that year because the Municipal Board said something to the effect that they had no power to order amalgamation of a part of a municipality, so we changed the Order and the application then read, "the entire 12 municipalities". As it was then designated, it was passed by Council by-law in May of that year. The vote in Council at that time was 17 to 2. The two were Aldermen Freed and Alderman Nathan Phillips.

(2) Now *why did we make this application?* I have a copy of the Board of Control's report, and I want to quote one or two statements from it.

The first refers to a meeting which the Premier of this Province had with the Mayor and Reeves of the Greater Toronto area, and I quote from the words of the Premier. This is his statement:

"With a great future before Greater Toronto the present difficulties are bound to increase. The situation is not a static one but rather one which will be magnified as time goes on. The 13 municipalities comprising Greater Toronto have a present population of approximately a million people, approximately one-quarter of the population of Ontario. I am sure we all want to reach a solution which will provide for essential municipal services on the most sensible and equitable basis, and having regard for the ever-increasing requirements of one of the world's greatest cities and urban areas which will be constantly expanding.

"What we need is to appraise the difficulties which exist in the individual municipalities and then assess them in relation to the needs of the whole area, in order that some common solution may be found.

"From the reports which have been made and public discussions and investigations over a period of years, it is thoroughly plain that the present situation is not satisfactory. As I stated before, the problem concerning this area is a municipal system which is going to meet the needs of our people. Human welfare and betterment is of paramount consideration, and I think the time has clearly arrived when the representatives and people comprising the various municipalities in the Toronto area should face up to the situation."

Then the Report goes on to say why.

On the next page is set forth some of the advantages in one or two schemes. It says:

"There are two basic methods by which the solution of these problems may be achieved.

1. The transfer of services to one or more administrative commissions so that the cost of such services could be equitably distributed over the whole area and, where advisable, uniformity in quality of service established. This method presents two alternatives:—

(a) The establishment of separate commissions for each service.

(b) The delegation of the administration of a group of services to some authority as a Public Utilities Commission, a Board of Management as contemplated in Section 23B of the Municipal Act, a Metropolitan Council or a County Council, all of which are variations in principle of what is known as the Borough System.

"In both cases it would be necessary that assessment would require to be equalized for the purpose of distributing costs and each municipality concerned would be required to transfer to the commission, or commissions, all of its assets and powers relating to the service, or services, in question."

2. The second basic form of administrative set-up that offers for the solution of the problem involves the unifi-

cation of local governing bodies into one central administration. Such a system is free from the many shortcomings and disadvantages of the Commission method or Borough System as noted above. It cannot only assure the most efficient carrying out of all the matters that might be entrusted to any Commission, Board of Management or Metropolitan Council but can also control that most important question of land use, the neglect of which is the basic cause of all municipal difficulties."

Then it goes on to list evidence of the need for some action—

The application of the Town of Mimico for a Board of Management.

The application for the amalgamation of Long Branch, New Toronto and Mimico.

The application for incorporation as a City of Forest Hill Village, the Township of York as a city and the recent suggestion for amalgamation of Etobicoke, Long Branch, Mimico and New Toronto.

Application to the City in 1931 by York and East York Townships for annexation to the City.

Those were some of the facts set forth in the application, and the City said this when making its application:—

1. The integration of the municipalities progressively at fixed dates and the alteration of such dates by the Ontario Municipal Board when found to be necessary.
2. The right of the City Council to make representation to the Ontario Municipal Board in respect to any application for approval of capital expenditure by any municipality prior to integration.
3. The continued employment of all full-time employees of the municipalities so unified and of their respective Boards of Education.

I have already quoted the Premier's interest in the matter. May I say that just prior to that, the Toronto and York Planning Board (in December, 1949), recommended the amalgamation of eight suburban municipalities. I brought in a motion to implement that, which motion is embodied on page 8 of this report. We were compelled, we understood, to take some action because of the fact that Mimico itself had applied to the Municipal Board for an order of amalgamation of certain services. If Toronto erred at all it was on the area that it suggested to be amalgamated, not on the solution of the problem.

First it was eight municipalities, then we said ten and parts of the other two and finally all twelve.

(3) Now *what were some of the facts at the time* the City had this argument in Council? Toronto had grown from an original 10,000 acres to close to 26,000: its land area had increased by 2½ times, and there had been no annexations for upwards of 40 years.

In 1908, East Toronto was taken in with 602 acres, West Toronto in 1909 with 1,609 acres and North Toronto with 2,701 acres in 1912.

And with what result? Those of you who have lived in or know anything about what was originally East Toronto, what was West Toronto, and North Toronto, would be able to determine whether that action was a proper one, whether it was worthwhile in the light of what we see today in the areas integrated.

Toronto's assessment was approximately $1,300,000,-000. The outside 12 had about $200 millions. If re-assessed on a basis comparable to Toronto, they would have approximately ½ billion dollars. On a population basis it should be ¾ billion dollars. The more favourable position of Toronto is accounted for by the fact that there is a large concentration of industry and business in Toronto proper. Of course, the outside municipalities are bound to benefit by Toronto's industrial expansion. It could be argued, too, that if the services in the suburbs were similar to ours, all things being equal, the cost of government would be the same. If the other Municipalities had the same services that the City of Toronto has they would have to pay for them. Surely, where they did not have them, the tax rate should be a lot lower.

Toronto's cost of government had increased (from 1939 to 1949) 22%, Leaside was up almost 50% in four years (1945-1949) and about 60% was for education. York Township's rate was 89.8 mills, and I believe it is now over 100. Long Branch had been reassessed up one-third yet its tax rate dropped only 13 mills instead of 23.37 mills.

Following the war, municipal costs accelerated considerably. The fact is that, in the main, Toronto had and has all the services it needed and needs; the only thing we did not have was land, and that was necessary if we were going to have any housing development.

The question is: how could some of these smaller municipalities operate if they were not close to, or joined to a large city? You could not imagine any small municipality isolated in the country which would be without a properly established fire department. The fact is they are close to a large municipality and can enjoy all the facilities of a well organized and efficient fire department and transportation system, all of which are created on Toronto's credit.

In one municipality the tax bill looks a bit like the tax bill I get for my cottage. They charge a lot of separate items, sewer area, garbage collection, school area, county rate, etc. We set one item, 41.8 mills. There are other factors which add costs to the householder: higher telephone rate: transportation to and from school. One man told me it cost his family $35.00 a year to have the children brought to school. I have not time to deal with all those points just now.

One answer given by Clive Sinclair (Reeve of Etobicoke) to our amalgamation plea, was to amalgamate Toronto with York County. He also stated that Toronto was "a sick cousin", "an economic crisis has been developing in the city for the past twenty years" and that Toronto was in "financial difficulties"; so he advocated there should be a metropolitan county to take over Toronto's assets. It was suggested at the time that Toronto would get five members as against twelve for the outside Municipalities.

So now, after nearly three years, the Municipal Board has recommended something akin to what was suggested at that time by the former Warden of York County.

(4) Now *let us have a look at the Cumming Report*—

These are the reasons that Mr. Cumming and Mr. Moore give for declining to approve of the City's application for amalgamation. On page 28 it says, *"In the first place* the board has been forced to conclude that the issue of any order for the amalgamation of these thirteen municipalities comprising a very large and important city, four towns, three villages and five townships would result in immediate and prolonged administrative confusion of the most serious kind."

(No. 2) it says: *"In the second place*, in the opinion of the board, the immediate creation of a single municipal government would result in a substantial increase of taxation due to the practical necessity of bringing all suburban wage and salary scales and working conditions up to city levels, which in most cases are higher than in the suburbs."

It is quite possible they will come up to the city standards anyway.

(No. 3) *"The third* and very serious objection to the scheme of local government proposed by the city is the proposed concentration of all municipal duties and responsibilities in a single all powerful council which would be expected to deal wisely and adequately with both local and metropolitan problems." Yet there are Councils in cities all over the world many times as large as ours which deal with all these problems under one governing body.

Page 30: *"A fourth* serious objection to the city's proposal has been the subject of anxious consideration by the board throughout the hearing. Briefly stated, the board has entertained grave doubt whether the need for reform of local government in this area justifies and requires the complete dissolution of the existing municipal institutions and the creation of a form of government which appears to be bitterly opposed by eleven of the thirteen local municipalities concerned."

Those were the chief reasons given by the Municipal

Board for rejecting Toronto's application for amalgamation. Now I want to quote something which entirely contradicts the very summation of their argument.

Page 32: (this follows what I have just read on pages 30 and 31. This is on page 32, the same person speaking!) "The practical and technical advantages of complete consolidation must be frankly admitted."

Page 25: "The Board has therefore no hesitation in finding on the whole evidence that the applicants have clearly proved the need of some major reform of the existing form of local government in the Toronto metropolitan area."

Page 27: "In the opinion of the Board there are certainly many obvious advantages in a completely centralized and consolidated form of local government which would follow an outright amalgamation of the thirteen municipalities." I think that is rather clear. The gentlemen who heard the case of the city admit the advantages for outright and complete integration. But on the top of page 28 the Board says, "*Nevertheless* the Board, after giving the most earnest consideration to the whole evidence . . ." etc., comes to some other conclusion. That is where I consider the 'hidden hand' came in. The real opinions were given quite clearly and established the case of the city with advantages to accrue from a complete integration. Then they say, "Nevertheless;" "we are in favour of amalgamation. But".

Now what does the Cumming report do in respect to the amalgamation of the area? It suggests a superimposed additional administrative council, appointed, and, later, to be elected. I will say that is not necessary, and even if it was necessary, it would be a costly thing. Some members outside of Toronto have conjectured it would cost $1 million.

On page 74, it recommends that the new Council should take over Assessment, Taxation and Finance. That is, it would have complete control over all the city's assets without compensation or adjustment. They would take over our debt. That is not a very large one at the moment.

But they would take over all our assets, perhaps ¼ billion dollars, without compensation or adjustment.

This new Council would have power to turn the assets over to Boards or Commissions; the local governments to be left to collect the taxes.

Education was to come under the Metropolitan Council, not necessarily under the control of public school supporters. The Bill brought down yesterday changes that.

The local Council would have very little left—garbage collection, play lots, sidewalks, some roads, health. The Metropolitan body would take over transportation, education, housing, assessment, water, sewerage, planning, highways, and possibly parks.

Now that is what is recommended should happen to Canada's second city, and, I think I would be correct in saying, the most important city in Business, Education, Wealth, Enterprise and progress. All the millions of assets of our public utilities, to be put into the pool. I don't know what would happen to the Canadian National Exhibition, our air fields, our parks, the Harbour, Langstaff, etc. All of these, I suggest, have been created and paid for by Toronto taxpayers, and on this city's foremost position of credit. These are to be turned over, with no compensation, to a group which, to some extent, will not be responsible to the citizens of Toronto. Instead of simplifying municipal government this would be adding an unnecessary burden and unnecessary confusion.

I listened to the introduction of Bill 80 in the House yesterday afternoon, as did members of the Board of Control. Reference was made by the Prime Minister to the so-called 'Borough System' of municipal government.

Herbert Morrison, former Labour Deputy Prime Minister, wrote a book entitled "How London is governed". London has a County Council. We speak of a "borough system", but that is a misnomer. The "boroughs' are a part of the County Council. Mr. Morrison refers to the value of a comprehensive and simple system of municipal administration, and he tries to portray what London might have been if they had had complete integration years ago: "We should not have known the ill defined sprawl of Greater London that has now evolved, cluttered up with a mass of special bodies for special purposes."

I think the Municipal Board was not realistic. They lacked foresight and courage in tackling the biggest problem of our generation. I'm aware of what Mr. Cumming actually did say in support of amalgamation. He argued that it had "technical and obvious advantages", but then recommended just the opposite.

It is argued that under amalgamation we assume the liabilities of the entire area anyway, and the area benefits from all Toronto's assets, but under amalgamation all would be under one central control and Toronto would have the advantage of land for industrial expansion, housing and planning.

(5) *When the City had the Cumming Report before it,* we asked for the opinion of our officials. I have not time to read all of it to you, but I want to read two excerpts from a report which was signed by the Commissioners of Finance, Works, Planning, Assessment and the Corporation Counsel. These two statements are really important.

"Your officials view with real alarm the wide powers that it is suggested the said Council be given in financing and pledging of the credit of the city over local suburban matters, in which the city can have no interest and over which the city will have no control. Over many years the City of Toronto, by sound and conservative financial administration, has built up a confidence on the part of investors which is today reflected in one of the highest credit ratings in Canada and the United States. It is no wonder then that we are genuinely alarmed at any proposal for the pooling of the resources of the metropolitan area for the benefit of the area as a whole without the control which the City has the right to expect."

"In transferring the authority to the proposed council to settle and provide for the budgets of subsidiary commissions the local councils would be called upon to levy the necessary taxes to provide the funds required without any control over the spending."

On that basis, the city appealed the recommendation of the Cumming Report. The issue clearly is, is amalgamation desirable and proper? The Municipal Board admits it is. Then why did they not recommend it, and why was the Government's action not in support of amalgamation? I'm not interested in looking for good points in a bad thing—if the principle is bad.

(6) I say *the Cumming Recommendations are basically unsound and undemocratic.* They are harmful to the city's assets and financial position. I understand that one of the firms which bought the city's bonds is circulating letters to private individuals trying to dispose of the bonds.

The entire city's financial position could be affected, because of the fact that under this scheme the city's credit is pooled with outside municipalities. The whole thing then is patently unfair to the people of Toronto.

Having said this, I think I should bring you up to date on what has followed the Cumming Report. Bill No. 80 was presented to the Legislature yesterday. Because of the complexity of it, I would imagine that it must have been framed before the Municipal Board report was released. I can't imagine that in the time since the Municipal Board Report was brought down, it would be possible to prepare this Bill 80.

The tragedy of this whole thing is that the Cumming Report showed the need of a solution of the area. It showed the desirable solution to be amalgamation. The Premier said yesterday, "I believed that partial amalgamation was the answer." The Premier's conversations in the past with former Mayor McCallum had quite a bearing on the city's attitude in first applying for amalgamation and then pushing its case. When he says, "partial amalgamation", I don't know whether he means "partial" or "progressive". The city did ask that amalgamation be done progressively.

Instead of facing up to the issue, the Government comes up with a plan which is not a solution, and which, apparently, has not pleased anyone. It does not suit the City of Toronto, and by reports in the papers, some of the constituent bodies outside are not pleased with it either. In fact, I think some are prepared to take amalgamation in preference to it.

The impracticability of this scheme is seen by anyone who has the slightest knowledge of Municipal government, when you figure up the multiplicity of departments, officials and services. Toronto is to get twelve representatives on this board. There are no sour grapes so far as I am concerned, as I am one of the twelve. But I am not an advocate of the scheme regardless of that. I can't see how it can work out. We have to give practically all our time now to the city and how can it be expected that we can divide our thinking and give a sufficient amount of time to put a metropolitan council with all its planning, into operation? Apparently the thought behind it is that it is not going to be a very heavy job as the members are to be paid $1,800 each. The Chairman is to get a salary comparable to the Mayor of Toronto. $15,000 is either too much money or $1,800 is not enough. The only reason for the $15,000 salary would be that the work would be done by one person and not by the council itself, which would have to make the final decisions.

Now if it is possible for 12 members of the civic government to divide their time and give half to this super council, it would be just as possible for the Premier of Ontario to reside in Ottawa and run the business of the Province of Ontario as well. This is an argument for the Premier of Ontario to handle the Federal Government as well, and I don't think it can be done; and I say that with some knowledge of municipal government and as one who attempts to put his mind to it.

You may not agree with my answer, but I have tried to bring my own thinking to bear, which is very important, on a problem which is a most serious one to this city.

(7) Now *under amalgamation we would have a larger* Council and a larger Board of Control. The Premier mentioned something about the big task it would be.

These other Municipalities have Councils now, and they would be represented. You would have everything under one head. You would have no division of duties or problems. All the area would be merged under one control. You would have integration accomplished gradually, and I imagine you could accomplish some overnight. Take the Works Department: suppose it was the Municipality to the north. I imagine that integration could happen in a day or so—you would merely join their staff with ours. You would not have two Commissioners of Works. The City of Toronto would control facilities for all, without need of two Works Departments.

In Toronto we must retain a Works Department. Where are the plans going? A street that crosses a highway may not be in the metropolitan plan so you are going to have two Councils functioning with two Works Departments, in the same area with plans, staff, etc.

Now if that is not complicated, I would like to know what is. The tragedy of the whole thing is, it will be costly. You will have two governments, one superimposed on the other, and, of course, an additional staff. We are told it will save taxes. I don't see how it can. Frankly, I have not argued that we would save taxes by amalgamation. I did not think so. If some of the outside Municipalities need services which at the present time they have not, our thinking was that the assets of the greater could be used to help the lesser, and in that all would benefit. The adjustment in the tax bill might be a few cents, but it would aid considerably a great number of people who, since the end of the Second World War (members of your family and mine), moved outside to get housing accommodation.

We felt our duty was to protest this Cumming Report, and we did it, we think, courageously and in a dignified manner. Our Solicitor's Department prepared an Appeal under Section 97 of the Municipal Board Act. What has happened to it, I don't know.

I question that the province has any right to confiscate the assets of the City of Toronto. These belong to the people in the City of Toronto. I remember that when a former government took over the Separate Schools in Ottawa because of the violation of a regulation, the Privy Council ruled that while it was all right for the Province to try to enforce its regulations, it had no right to take over the schools: they belonged to the school supporters. And I suggest to you, the assets of Toronto belong to the people, and the Province will have a hard time to enforce it.

Bill 80 is not exactly what was in the Cumming Report so whether the scheme is accepted or not, I think the City of Toronto can take some credit because of its united front against the scheme. If we have failed in total victory it is not our fault. Nineteen members of Council acted. The Mayor failed to voice Council's opinion, and, on more than one occasion, has expressed his own opinion, which was contrary to the Council of the City of Toronto.

I think the Government is evading its responsibility and lacking in courage. If there is fear of political repercussions in handling the problem (and it may be that amalgamation is not acceptable to some of the outside municipalities, but they are not pleased with the Government's answer either) we have suggested there should be a plebiscite of the entire area. Toronto wants amalgamation. Those who favour the Cumming proposal suggest this will lead to amalgamation at some future time. I do not share that view. I believe if we miss this opportunity now, it is gone forever. I cannot see that the setting up of another body, creating a super government, with new departments, offices and staff will lead to amalgamation. Once that is done, we will be further removed than ever. We will find ourselves in the same position as London, England, in that it did not tackle the job when it could have done and should have done so.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. Eric Hardy.

"LATIN AMERICA ON THE MARCH — A VALUABLE PARTNERSHIP"

An Address by

JAMES STUART DUNCAN, C.M.G.
Chairman of the Board and President,
Massey-Harris Co. Ltd.

Joint Meeting with The Canadian Club of Toronto

Thursday, March 5th, 1953

CHAIRMAN: The President, Mr. John W. Griffin.

MR. GRIFFIN: Members and Guests of The Canadian Club of Toronto and The Empire Club of Canada: Like everyone else who grows up in Toronto I have been familiar with the name "Massey-Harris" since childhood. Like you I knew that it made plough-shares in peace and forged mighty weapons during war. It is commonplace knowledge that it has works and offices spread over five continents and that its products, of which $293 million worth were sold last year, are in use in 106 countries. The reading of these names which run through the alphabet from Algeria to Yemen, is an adventure in itself. But it is not such common knowledge that in its 106 years this great Canadian enterprise has fashioned a unique place for itself in the annals of our Dominion. The Massey-Harris firm, a wonderfully successful commercial undertaking, a money-making business if you will, has given more

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March 5th: James S. Duncan.

than it has taken. It has given to Canada the essential tools for the exploitation of her boundless agricultural spaces—that mighty patrimony whose frontiers are ever expanding. The late Sir Arthur Conan Doyle wrote of "the fields of grain that stretch from sky to sky and the little prairie hamlets where the cars go rolling by." A great empire was there but its dedication to wheat would never have been possible without machines—the machines made on King Street West in Toronto. The firm with the facilities and knowledge and resources to supply this need played a part in Canada's destiny comparable to the roles of the Hudson's Bay Co. and the Canadian Pacific Railway. It is not too much to say that as "The Bay" explored and charted the great plains and the C.P.R. opened them for settlement, Massey-Harris made it possible to realise their great destiny as the granary of Empire.

Mr. James Stuart Duncan has spent over 40 years in the service of Massey-Harris. Born in Paris, France, the son of a Massey-Harris man, he has learned his business at every level. At 16 he was an office boy in the company's office in Germany. At 17 he came to Canada alone and spent two years as a factory hand in the Toronto Works and earned the right to his pride in being known as an 'implement man'. Following this he worked on the Ontario sales force and then as a travelling sales representative in France. After gallant service with the British Army in the Great War, Mr. Duncan reached the executive ranks of his company and was in due course European General Manager. Ultimately and inevitably he returned to Toronto and in 1940 became President.

Shortly after he became General Manager he made the far-reaching decision to develop and then put into production a self-propelled combine. This machine, which other implement firms had regarded as impractical, did nothing less than revolutionise agriculture. Canadians generally were, and are, unaware of this bold development and of its epochal effect on the grain industry. With our deep-rooted distrust of our own capacity for greatness we have left unsung a mechanical marvel which history may rank with the cotton-gin and its effect on that industry a century and a half ago. Clinging as we do with rightful pride and affection to our noble heritage from across the sea and awe-struck as we sometimes are by the fabulous achievements of our mighty neighbour let us not ignore our own capacity to develop—to produce—to lead. Let us note large, for example, that the self-propelled combine, which does in one minute what a century ago required 40 hours came from King Street West in Toronto. Mr. Duncan, who is doing as much as any man alive today to lead Canada to ever-greater heights among the nations has said of her "Nowhere is there such unbounded opportunity, so many new frontiers to be opened. And Nowhere are there so many sure signs of the approach of a new era of expansion". Gentlemen, Mr. Duncan has given as part of his definition of an executive that "He ought to be able to sort out the wheat from the chaff". I think that is very appropriate for a manufacturer of threshing machines.

MR. DUNCAN: Mr. Chairman, Fellow Members of the Canadian and Empire Clubs, and Gentlemen,

May my first words be of appreciation, Mr. Chairman, for your friendly and generous introduction. Some of you, no doubt, when listening to the recitation of my many extracurricular activities, as you have just done, must wonder how, in addition to these, I find time to lead the destiny of a great Canadian Company, whose activities are spread wide over the face of the globe.

The answer is twofold, namely, that these things are not accomplished on the basis of a forty-hour week, and that I firmly believe that just as man does not live by bread alone, the industrial or business leader of today cannot, if he is to be effective, operate within the narrow confines of his own commercial activities, but rather must play his part in the wider sphere of national and of community interests, in which the education and training of today's youth play such an important part.

May I add that these things are not done on a basis of personal sacrifice. On the contrary, I get more relaxation, more interest, more fun and satisfaction out of my ancillary occupations than I would out of playing Canasta or bridge or golf, or taking long holidays.

I am grateful to you, Mr. Chairman, for having given me this opportunity of addressing the members of the Canadian and Empire Clubs in this great Canadian city, my home town and yours, and one in whose vitality, expansion and undoubted future, we all share a justifiable pride.

I returned but a few weeks ago from a Goodwill and Trade Mission to Latin America, and I have been asked to tell you something of what we have seen there, what we accomplished, and what the future holds in store for Canada in the Southern part of this great American Continent.

The Mission, as you know, was headed by The Right Honourable C. D. Howe, our Minister of Trade and Commerce. Few men, if any in Canada, were better equipped than he for this responsibility. It is said that no one is a prophet in his own land, and one must travel abroad to realize the extent to which The Right Honourable C. D. Howe has become a world figure. His distinguished services to our country, both in peace and in war, his realistic and practical approach to the problems of government, the part he has played in the upbuilding of Canada during the postwar period, his integrity, his drive and his immense capacity for hard work—all these things were well known in the official circles of the countries visited, and they added greatly to the prestige of our Mission.

I should like to take this opportunity of paying tribute to Canada's Foreign Trade Service, under the able and experienced leadership of Fred Bull, Deputy Minister of Trade and Commerce. In every country visited during this trip—and I have had the same experience in many other parts of the world—I have found our commercial representatives young, vigorous, intelligent, well-informed and highly thought of by the officials of the Governments with whom they were dealing. This Service has improved immensely since pre-war days, and those who are responsible are to be heartily congratulated.

These trade officials stationed in foreign lands can be of immense service to the Canadian businessman who wishes to find a market for his product. They can counsel him, introduce him to the right people, open the way for him, but from then on, he is on his own; his success will depend upon his own efforts, and this is as it should be.

It is interesting to note that being firmly convinced that trade to flourish and develop must be on a two-way basis, our commercial services are just as ready and just as well equipped to assist Latin American exporters to find a market for their products in Canada as they are to assist Canadian exporters to find a market abroad.

We did not go to Latin America to discuss trade agreements or tariff concessions. We went there as fellow-members of these great Americas, as friendly neighbours and as partners, who stood to benefit by the development of our mutual trade.

We went there to become acquainted with the vast potentialities of these markets, to tell them something about Canada, of the upsurge of our economy, of our approach to our problems, which is often so different to theirs, of the high living standard of our people, of our position as world traders, of the growing importance of our market for their products, and of the advantages of developing a stronger current of two-way trade between us.

Latin America received us with open arms. Not only did they make us feel at home in their midst, but they were greatly interested in Canada, in the why and the wherefore of our progress and prosperity, in the growing importance of our consumer market, and just what they should do to get a larger share of it. Their welcome was genuine and their hospitality heartwarming.

As the R. C. A. F. "C-5", in which we were travelling, and which added so much to the effectiveness of our trip, rolled to a stop at the airports of the various cities we visited, we were received with a degree of pomp and circumstance, which, I am sorry to say, we are far from being able to duplicate in Canada.

The receptions naturally varied in the different countries, but usually, as we landed, a guard of honour was drawn up, a military band would strike up the National Anthems of both countries, the Director of Protocol would introduce the dignitaries who had come to meet us —the President's representative, Cabinet Ministers, Provincial Governors, Heads of the Armed Services, and our own Canadian diplomatic and commercial representatives.

When the guard of honour had been reviewed by our Minister, the introductions completed, and the formalities duly dealt with, we were accompanied to the airport station, where a cavalcade of cars would be awaiting us. These were headed by two or three police motorcycle outriders, who, with sirens screaming, would whisk us off to our hotels at a uniform speed of no less than sixty miles an hour, through crowded thoroughfares and stop lights, with all traffic halted, for all the world as if a fire had broken out.

These highly efficient and greatly daring outriders, if somewhat authoritarian and unavoidably noisy, accompanied us every time we left the hotel. They added much to the rapidity with which we made our various calls, and also, let it be said, to the excitement of progress throughout the city. We visited the Heads of State, the Senior Ministers, the leaders of industry, of trade and of agriculture in all the countries concerned. We discussed our mutual problems in an atmosphere of frankness, of understanding and of goodwill.

The Trade Mission was heralded throughout Latin America with detailed advance newspaper coverage. When the Mission got underway, news of its progress was printed daily in the press of the countries which were included in our schedule, and after our arrival, the widest possible coverage was given in each country, not only in the press, but over the radio and television.

A factor which created considerable interest in each of the countries visited was the fact that the Mission was not only composed of Government officials, but of businessmen, some of whom spoke their language, all of whom had business connections with Latin America, and most of whom represented also organizations, such as the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, the Canadian Chamber of Commerce, the Canadian Exporters' Association, the Chamber of Commerce of the Province of Quebec, the Canadian Inter-American Association, etc.

Latin America is a major producer of food and raw materials, such as coffee, sugar, cocoa, wheat, vegetable oils, wool, fiber, cotton, petroleum, nitrates, iron ore, copper, zinc, tin and manganese, and just to give you a measure of the importance of this market, Latin America supplies two-thirds of the United States' food imports, and one-quarter of her raw material purchases from abroad. On the other hand, these twenty countries, which go to make up Latin America, are great importers of iron and steel products, manufactured articles, such as farm implements, automobiles, industrial equipment, chemicals, textiles, wheat, flour, salted fish, milk and other foods. Fifty per cent of all Latin America's imports come from the United States. In 1952 these amounted to nearly over $300 million a month.

We Canadians have done well in this market also. We have lifted our exports from $18 million per annum in 1938, to $275 million in 1952. This latter figure is inflated by abnormal shipments of wheat, both to Brazil and to the Argentine, due to crop failure in the latter country, and yet this performance, satisfactory in many ways, is overshadowed by that of Germany, whose exports have increased from $3,200,000 in 1948 to no less than $369 million in 1951.

Germany's performance, which should serve as a lesson and a warning to us, is all the more remarkable, because in 1951, Latin America purchased 8% less in volume from Europe than in 1913, whereas its purchases from the United States increased to more than fivefold in the same period.

Each war has resulted in a loosening of the ties of Latin America with Europe, and in an increase in the importance of the United States in its trade. There is a tendency, however, ever since 1950, to revert towards the old trade pattern because of Latin America's growing dollar shortage, and both Canada and the United States will have to look to their laurels, if they are to hold the ground which has been won and continue their progress in this market.

From what I have seen down there, I do strongly believe that there is a great opportunity for Canada to continue to expand her trade with Latin America, and that this can be accomplished if we do but go about it the right way. I base this assertion on many factors, which include: the similarity of many of our exports to those of the United States and, therefore, the possibility of sharing some of their exports, which are so very much larger than ours; the complementary rather than competitive nature of our economy with that of Latin America; and the high regard in which Canadian goods and Canadian methods of trade are held in all the countries concerned.

When one considers the inflationary trends in certain of the countries which we have visited—their shortage of dollars, the accumulation of unpaid commercial debts—one could well be pessimistic about the future. But yet, each one of the countries visited is in full evolution—roads, public services of all kinds are being developed, factories, public buildings, apartments and private homes are being built on a scale which at times is almost breathtaking.

The standard of living of the people, which is still comparatively low, is rising rapidly, and one cannot help but feel that although the pace may be at times unduly fast, and that many of these countries will undoubtedly suffer from growing pains—as vigorous youth is wont to do—yet their forward march towards a higher standard of life, greater productivity, higher national income and increasing purchasing power is unescapable.

Furthermore, it should not be overlooked that all countries in Latin America are not suffering from dollar shortages. Venezuela, Colombia, Cuba, Mexico, Peru, the Dominican Republic and Haiti, are all importers of large quantities of North American goods, and are—in varying degrees, of course— in a position to pay for them in American or Canadian dollars.

I have returned from Latin America with the firm conviction that, present difficulties notwithstanding, the long-term potential of these markets is very great indeed. and that their movement of trade, important as it is today, will seem small in comparison ten or fifteen years hence.

That Canada, who has so much to offer in raw materials, foodstuffs, chemicals, engineering equipment and other manufactured articles, could play a much larger role than she is playing in these countries is, to my mind, self-evident. If we, as a people, were as export-minded—not only in the pioneering and exploratory meaning of the term—but in our approach to our day-to-day transactions in foreign countries, as are many of our European competitors, we would already have done so.

This criticism would, on the surface, appear unjustified, when one considers that with a population of but fifteen million in a world of two billion four hundred million, we have reached the proud position of third exporter among all nations.

The facts are, however, that our outstanding achievement in this direction is based, in no small degree, upon the abundance of our natural resources and the energy with which our people have developed them, rather than upon the knowledge and ingenuity which they have displayed in finding markets for our produce.

The very abundance of our resources, plus the fact that we found a ready outlet for the majority of our exports in the two great English-speaking democracies—the United States and the United Kingdom (with Sterling area), who traditionally have accounted for about 80% of all our exports, made it less urgent for us in the past to develop the skills and the techniques essential to successful trading in foreign lands, whereas many of our competitor nations, less favoured than we were and who have had to do their exporting the hard way, are more adept at it than we.

But this situation does not apply to our trade with Latin America alone. It is a problem which we are facing in many parts of the world, and which is all the more difficult to deal with because it is not apparent. Our exports have increased so greatly since pre-war days that this issue is beclouded.

Before the second world conflict, 40% of our exports found their way to the Sterling area and an equal proportion to the United States. Even then, our position was not sound, because we had too many eggs in two baskets.

Today, only 23% of our exports go to our traditional market in the Sterling area, and 54% to the United States. This dependence upon the United States for over half of all our exports carries with it hazards, which we should recognize and guard against. Do not let us overlook the fact that, due in part, at least, to our small population, we are more dependent upon our exports than most nations.

Supposing, for instance, that there are four hundred people gathered together in this room today, nearly one hundred of these would derive their income directly, or indirectly, from our exports. When 24% of a country's national income springs from its foreign trade, it becomes vitally important that it be protected at all cost, because a substantial decline would immediately affect, not only our prosperity, but our standard of living as we know it today.

That we should continue to expand our markets in the United States with the utmost vigour, goes without saying. In my own Company, no effort is spared in this direction. It would be most unwise, however, to rely upon this market to the extent of slackening our efforts in others.

A sharp recession in the United States, having in mind the parallel nature of our economies, would result in almost immediate and drastic curtailment of their imports.

We ship them so many things, which in a time of recession, they could do without or produce themselves.

It is to guard against the unfortunate consequence, which a sudden and important drop in our exports would have upon our economy, that a wider pattern of distribution is desirable. It is generally recognized that in this postwar world a country's exports are largely governed by her ability to import. We could ship more goods to the Sterling area, for instance, if we bought more goods from them, and I cannot emphasize too strongly that that is precisely what we should do.

It is, to my mind, of vital importance to Canada as a whole, and particularly to her agriculture, with special emphasis upon the wheat economy of our Western Provinces, that we should build back our traditional markets with the Sterling area and Western Europe.

The point which I was trying to make with regard to our exports as a whole, and those of Latin America in particular, is that however discouraging the situation may be in certain countries from time to time, there is business to be done in most of them, and this in ever-increasing measure if we do but go about it in the right way.

It cannot be done from a swivel chair in an office in Toronto or Montreal; it cannot be done effectively by correspondence. It can only be done by becoming thoroughly acquainted with the country in which we wish to do business, with the language of its people, with their currency problems, their regulations, their habits of thought, their idiosyncracies, (and we have just as many of these as they have), with their tastes, their fashions or their fancies.

We must be prepared for disappointments, prepared to find our money tied up occasionaly by some unexpected crisis, or some change in regime, prepared to do business in a different way from what we have been accustomed to in Canada, in the United States or in Great Britain, and yet those who embark upon foreign business, and who do it painstakingly and intelligently and who spread their risk wide enough, will find in the long run that it is well worth their while.

In fact, so long as we continue our policy of restricted immigration, so long as we have not built up a population, which is large enough to consume a greater proportion of the products which we grow, or extract from the earth, or manufacture, there is, to my mind, no safe alternative to a greater diversification of our exports. And I maintain that there is more danger in an over-concentration of these than in their wider distribution. I say this with a full knowledge gained at times from painful experience, of the numerous pitfalls, which are so liberally strewn along the path of the Canadian exporter, who operates in a large diversity of foreign lands.

But this much I would say about operations abroad. Those who have engaged in them, be they bankers, traders or industrialists, have found that, notwithstanding the ups and downs, their operations—on balance, have been profitable.

I believe that, as has been the experience of Canada, more people will come to recognize that national prosperity and higher living standards are intimately connected with greater freedom of trade, with convertible currencies, and with a political climate that welcomes, not penalizes —venture capital, whether that capital comes from domestic or from foreign savings.

How slow would have been our Canadian development if, like many countries today, we have refused to allow foreign capital to come in and help us develop our natural resources, our agriculture and our industries. It is heartening to note that many countries—and I have seen some of them in Latin America, who are still pursuing policies diametrically opposed to ours—are taking note of our less restrictive approach to commercial, financial and investment problems, and the extent to which these are paying off in greater production, higher living standards, and mounting national income.

One could argue indefinitely about the kind of world one will be living in, ten or twenty years hence, and there would be strong arguments on both sides. I happen to believe, however, that the world of tomorrow will be a freer and more prosperous one than that of today, a world in which there will be fewer restrictions, where goods will move more freely, and where interchangeability of currency will once more be the rule rather than the exception.

So many people surveying the economic scene are alarmed and downcast at the present state of affairs. They overlook perhaps the disastrous and widespread effects of two world wars.

To my way of thinking, the astonishing feature of present day conditions is not the multiplicity of our economic problems, but rather the rapidity with which the world has recovered from the chaotic conditions in which it found itself at the end of World War II.

Two factors, among many others, give me cause for optimism. One is the ferment, the leaven, which is working in the great masses of the people, who everywhere are striving towards a more abundant life, a higher standard of living. This carries with it as it has already in many countries, increased purchasing power, a larger national income, and an insistent and growing demand for more goods made and produced both at home and abroad.

The other factor, and it is an important one, is the giant strides of air transportation, which has made neighbours of us all.

Not so many years ago it took me twenty-one days to travel to the Argentine. Today it takes me twenty-two hours, and tomorrow jet liners will cover the distance between an early breakfast and a late lunch.

This ease of contact, this neighbourliness, this wider knowledge of how we all live, this cancelling of distance will, in the course of time, inevitably bring about a greater integration of world economies.

According to my book, we should not mould our policies of the future on the assumption that World War III is just around the corner, or that each country is going progressively to isolate itself behind an ever-growing economic fence. To adopt this attitude would get us no place at all. If my optimism is unjustified, if we are going to live in a world of economic nationalism, where each country is going to live behind the walls of restriction, we will be living in a poor world and one in which Canada could not prosper. But, if I am right, and I believe I am, that we will be living in a freer, more neighbourly world, then the countries, whose commercial and financial interests are spread wide throughout the earth, will benefit greatly, and I should like to feel that Canada, with her natural resources, with her youth, her vigour and her determination will be among these.

So let us be optimistic about it; let us have faith in the future; and let us go out and develop our export trade along sound and tried lines in every region whose consumer power justifies the effort, and Latin America will be chief among these.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by H. H. Wilson, Vice-President of The Canadian Club of Toronto.

"CANADA IN 1953"

An Address by

RT. HON. LOUIS S. ST-LAURENT, P.C., Q.C.
Prime Minister and President of the Privy Council, Canada

Monday, March 9th, 1953

CHAIRMAN: The President, Mr. John W. Griffin.

MR. GRIFFIN: My Lord Chief Justice, Your Worship, Members and Guests of The Canadian Club of Toronto and The Empire Club of Canada; This land of ours, this beloved nation we call home, this broad expanse of earth washed on three sides by the waters of the restless sea, is young in years as nations go. Today when we are so firm, so strong, so prosperous, so blessed with evergrowing natural riches, it is easy to forget that this proud Dominion was formed but three generations ago amid many doubts and grave misgivings. As the great words of Abraham Lincoln tell us, after "Fourscore and seven years" of life *his* nation was torn asunder and sought an answer to insoluble conflict in the ultimate appeal of battle. Even as he spoke the Fathers of Confederation were working for the union of the Queen's North American provinces and we may boast that we approach *our* four-score and seventh year with a degree of unity that must delight the ghost of old Sir John.

Despite our youth the chief responsibility for the conduct of our affairs has rested in the hands of a succession of distinguished men. Macdonald and Laurier, Borden and Meighen, Mackenzie King—the roll call is impressive.

It is the mantle of this mighty line that has descended upon our speaker of to-day and all Canadians, of every party, know that he has worn it well both at home and abroad among the nations.

Mr. St-Laurent never sat in the Commons until he was sixty years of age and had no practical experience in politics before that time. Perhaps the most remarkable thing about him is that in just seven years this constitutional lawyer from Quebec became the King's First Minister for Canada and took up the chief responsibility for our affairs when the bitter truths of post-war disillusionment were ending the facile hopes of the free world. I need not tell you the facts of his earlier life or political career. The latter are part of the current record and both will have a high and honoured place in the histories of the future. I will content myself with expressing the hope that God will continue to grant our guest the strength and grace he needs for the discharge of the high office that has been entrusted to him. Gentlemen, the Right Honourable, the Prime Minister!

RT. HON. LOUIS S. ST-LAURENT, P.C., Q.C.: Mr. President, Mr. Chief Justice, Mr. Porter, Mr. Mayor, Ladies and Gentlemen:

This is the first occasion on which I have had the singular pleasure of speaking at one and the same time to members of the Empire Club and of the Canadian Club of Toronto. I will not say, because it might sound flattering, that this is the most distinguished audience one could find in Canada, but I am sure no one could gainsay the statement that it would be difficult to find a more distinguished audience anywhere in our country.

I understand that the relations between these two clubs have been characterized over the years by rather lengthy periods of friendly rivalry, punctuated by shorter periods of flirtatious approaches, which have not yet resulted in a permanent union.

In affairs of this kind, I think I should mind my own business, and I assure you I have not come here to attempt any matchmaking.

I think, however, the topic I have chosen is broad enough to be equally suitable for the Empire Club and the Canadian Club. My subject is "Canada in 1953". I am sure the members of both clubs are equally interested in Canada and equally devoted to our country.

I am sure, too, there is no member of the Toronto Canadian Club who does not wish Canada to remain an integral and influential member of the Commonwealth, and I am equally sure there is no member of the Empire Club who does not feel that the strength of the Commonwealth depends upon the strength of its members, and that the greater we make our own country, the more we advance the cause of the Commonwealth. So I feel no embarrassment in speaking to members of both clubs at the same time.

Now while this may be the first time I have addressed both Clubs together, it is not my first appearance before each club separately. But there was quite a time lag. It is barely three years since I spoke to the Canadian Club, while it is over thirty-two years since I spoke to the Empire Club. This was on November the 25th, 1920.

Before preparing the notes for what I intended to say today, I thought it might be wise to look up both speeches. I was afraid some of you might catch me out in repeating myself too literally. Perhaps I made a mistake in doing that because I found I would not really be ashamed to repeat either of those speeches again.

That is not because there was anything very remarkable in what I said in either of them, but because they both expressed sentiments about Canada which were my sentiments many years before I got into the political arena, and which I believe are still worth expressing. For that reason I may be repeating a few of those things today.

You will recall that during the first World War there were strains between our two historic races occasioned by the war itself. By 1920 we were beginning to recover from those strains and people were talking about the development of a national spirit. When I spoke to the Empire Club in 1920 what I said on this topic went like this:

> "A national spirit cannot attach to the soil alone; it must comprise the men who dwell upon it, the institutions which make them a body politic and also the private laws which crystallize their attitude towards each other and their methods of realizing human progress.
>
> "These men are not, nor need they be, exact copies one of another; their social institutions do and they well may reflect the special characteristics of the various groups; so may their private laws and their local rules of individual behaviour, but if there is not a widespread feeling that in spite of such differences, perhaps even at times because of such differences, all these things are good to conserve, are worthy of mutual respect, constitute something for the whole nation and for each individual to take pride in and which enriches the national heritage, how can we have a national spirit?"

Well, that was in 1920.

The development of a national spirit is obviously a theme that I find it hard to stay away from, because I returned to it when I spoke in Toronto to the Canadian Club thirty years later.

No doubt many of you will recall my saying on that occasion that I wanted to stress the importance of strengthening the institutions which gave richness and variety to the life of a free nation. And on that occasion, too, I reminded you that the historic partnership of two races and two cultures was the foundation of the only kind of national life we could expect to have in Canada.

As we look out on the world in this year of 1953, we Canadians have, I believe, gone a long way since 1920 in developing a national spirit and we have more faith in ourselves and in our country than we have ever had before. And that faith is strengthened by many tangible expressions of the faith of other countries in us and in our place in the universal scheme of things.

That was not always true. There were times, in our earlier history, when faith did languish at home and when the confidence of others in Canada was very dim indeed.

The other day I came across an extract from an editorial, dated September 1st, 1881, from an overseas paper called "LONDON TRUTH". I was especially interested because it was published just a few months before I was born and I must say I am thankful that, so far, I have turned out to be a better prophet about the future of Canada than this so-called "TRUTH" of London.

The editorial referred to the launching of the Canadian Pacific Railway bonds. "LONDON TRUTH" took a pretty dark view of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and even of Canada itself in 1881. Let me quote some parts of this editorial:

> "The Canadian Pacific Railway will run, if it is ever finished, through a country frost-bound for seven or eight months of the year, and will connect with the Western part of the Dominion, a Province which embraces about as forbidding a country as any on the face of the earth; British Columbia, they say, have forced on the execution of this part of the contract under which they become incorporated with the Dominion, and believe that prosperity will come to them when the line is made. This is a delusion on their part. British Columbia is a barren, cold, mountain country that is not worth keeping. It would never have been inhabited at all, unless by Trappers of the Hudson Bay Company, had the 'gold fever' not taken a party of mining adventurers there, and even since that fever died down, the place has been going from bad to worse. Fifty railroads could not galvanize it into prosperity.
>
> "Nevertheless, the Canadian Government has fairly launched into this project, and I have no doubt the English public will soon be asked to further it with their cash. I doubt if ten millions of dollars of ready cash could be found in all of Canada for this or any other work of utility at a pinch, but the Canadians are

not such idiots as to part with one dollar of their own money if they can borrow from their neighbours! The Canadians spend money and we provide it. That has been the arrangement hitherto, and it has worked out splendidly—for the Canadians. "A friend of mine told me—and he knew what he was talking about—that he did not believe the much touted Manitoba settlement would hold out many years. The people who have gone there cannot stand the coldness of the winters. Men and cattle are frozen to death in numbers that would rather startle the intending settler if he knew and those who are not killed outright are often maimed for life by frost-bites.

"As the bonds 'secured' on this land or others guaranteed by the Dominion Government are sure to be offered in this market by the 'Bankers' and others forming the Company, I think a word or two on Canadian Finances in general would be in season. Canada is one of the most overrated colonies we have but it is heartily 'loyal' and it makes loyalty pay. Its astute inhabitants know well how to work on John Bull's susceptibilities and I have seen nothing finer in the way of advertising than . . . the gushing accounts . . . admirably adapted to create a belief that the true land promise is to be found there at last. With such soil to till, and among such Queen worshippers, the distressed British farmer would be in bliss. Of course, those who choose can believe all that. For my part, I know of only one Province in the whole Dominion—that of Ontario where you can lend money on land with any hope of ever seeing your own again. As for the country as a whole, it is poor and is crushed with debt. The Supreme Government owes about thirty-five million pounds altogether and every province has its separate debt, as also has almost every collection of shanties calling itself a 'City'. The Province and city of Quebec are both notoriously bankrupt. Nearly every year Canada asks for a new loan or two, and once it is fairly committed to making this new railway I see nothing before it but bankruptcy. While the money is

> being spent all will go well enough perhaps, but in the end the Dominion will have to go into liquidation. One of these days when the load gets too heavy, Ontario is pretty certain to go over to the States, into which it dovetails, and where its best trade outlet is. When that day comes, the 'Dominion' will disappear. This 'Dominion' is, in short, a 'fraud' all through and is destined to burst up like any other fraud."

This is how Canada looked to one outside observer at the beginning of my own lifetime. We sometimes feel we have difficulties today, but in the face of that kind of picture, I think the risk is rather that we may become too self-satisfied.

We are of course going to face formidable difficulties in the future, and we will have to surmount them as we have surmounted the difficulties of the past, if this nation is to realize its destiny, which I believe is somewhat different from the bursting up of the Dominion or the going over to the United States by Ontario predicted by *London Truth.*

One of the things which is uppermost in all of our minds in 1953 and which is exactly the opposite of any grim prospect is the Coronation of our beloved Queen and the belief of many of us that that event will serve to strengthen the members of our Commonwealth and the links which hold us all together.

There are, of course, local situations in parts of the Commonwealth which appear to divide some members from others.

But the real link among us is our common ideals, our memories of associations in the past and our convictions that those past associations have been for the benefit of all of our peoples. I do not think it is conceited for us to believe that this Commonwealth group not only works for the benefit of its own people but is also an instrument for the good of free mankind throughout the whole world.

One of the characteristics of this Association is its ability to develop and to adapt itself to new situations.

All of us, but particularly the British people, can be proud of their realistic genius which enables them to meet the requirements of a new situation and yet conserve the essentials which really matter. I hope — and I am sure most of them do — that the people of India, for instance, and the peoples of the Occident do look upon each other as human beings equal in every respect.

We all know from our own Canadian experience that unity between us, unity between all the elements of our population is and must be based upon that recognition by us all that we are all equal to each other and that all have the same rights to Canadian citizenship, and that Canadian citizenship gives us equality in every respect with all our fellow-citizens, whatever their origin, their traditions and their cultures may be. It is because our forefathers had the wisdom to recognize that it was not going to be necessary in this Canadian nation to pour all the elements into the same mould that we now have a Canadian nation.

I believe it is because we have learned to respect one another and to conserve our heritage, that it has been possible since the war to admit 800,000 immigrants into our country without disrupting or even disturbing the basic character of our national life. These men, women and children are making a real contribution to our national life. Without them, we would be the poorer economically, culturally and spiritually.

Most of them have come to Canada with the firm intention of becoming good Canadian citizens, and we are making it possible for them to develop a genuine attachment to this country, because of the increasing respect and understanding we have learned to have for the traditions and backgrounds of one another.

I am convinced that without this broad human understanding—this spirit of brotherhood transcending race or creed which has become a national characteristic—we in Canada would not have accomplished what we already have in this twentieth century.

And, in this year of our new Queen's Coronation, if we all dedicate ourselves to maintaining and strengthening that spirit, we need not fear for the future of the Commonwealth.

We have other things for which we can be thankful, too. Important though they are, our Commonwealth associations and our national spirit are not the only assets we have. I mentioned some of those other assets to the Canadian Club three years ago. Those assets we still possess.

We share, for instance, with the Americans this happy continent which is still relatively less vulnerable to direct aggression than any other developed area of the globe.

Then, next to the Americans, we have the greatest per capita developed wealth of any people; and, in addition, even greater undeveloped wealth.

Moreover, we have a population with a high average level of enlightenment, of ingenuity and of initiative.

All of this adds up to an industrial and economic potential which, despite our relatively small population, gives Canada a place in the world immediately after the great powers.

Whatever "LONDON TRUTH" of over 70 years ago may have thought it would be, the economy of Canada today, and our national finances, too, for that matter, are in a pretty healthy state. I daresay all of you have seen in your favourite British or American periodicals complimentary articles about the Canadian economy.

I was particularly struck by one of these articles which appeared, last November, in the Monthly Review of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York. I don't think the Monthly Review of a Federal Reserve Bank is written to attract popular attention, or to provide propaganda for any cause. Flattering though it is to Canadians, I hope its language is not too exaggerated. Here is what it said:

> "Recent economic developments in Canada have attracted world-wide attention . . . . The Canadian dollar has risen to a significant premium over the United States dollar, reflecting . . . . widespread foreign confidence in Canada's economic prospects and a willingness to invest in that country.

"This confidence in the Canadian economy has been greatly strengthened by the general success of the government's fiscal and monetary policies, which have maintained economic balance despite the strong expansionary pressures generated by the Korean war, the Canadian defence programme, and the swift pace of economic development.

"Meanwhile, the growth potentialities of the Canadian economy continue to inspire new and far-reaching plans for the exploitation of Canada's abundant natural resources. The challenge of these new horizons, the venturesome spirit that now seems to pervade the Canadian economic scene, and the rapidity of the country's postwar economic expansion, all suggest that Canada stands at the threshold of a new era of economic progress."

What a change this represents in the attitude to Canada's future in the lifetime of many of us who still refuse to consider ourselves old men.

But I think a word of caution is necessary. The realization of that happy future depends upon our continued faith in our country, the vigorous and adventurous development of our great resources and the expansion of all our national activities, material or spiritual, within Canada.

Two possible obstacles to the almost unlimited development of Canada are outside our own borders. The greatest of all is the danger of another war, and next to that is the risk of a contraction of world trade, on which we depend so largely for many of the necessities of life and for the income with which to purchase those necessities.

Action by other nations as well as by ourselves is required to meet those dangers. We cannot, of course, direct the conduct of other nations. But I suggest that our weight in world affairs and the influence we can exert is greater than our numbers would indicate. Are we really making the best use of that influence to promote peace and to foster international trade?

We have established our outer lines of defence in Korea and West Germany, but we dare not concentrate all our military strength in those places. The promotion and safeguarding of peace begin at home. We have to do our part to provide for the territorial defence of our homeland and the continent in which we live. We know that modern science has opened up our northland to potential danger of attack.

We also know we could not bar a northern invader alone. We realize that the defence of this continent is a joint operation with the United States and that is why both countries have carried forward into the post-war world their co-operation in continental defence.

In February, 1947, Mr. Mackenzie King and Mr. Harry Truman formally renewed the agreement for joint defence made at Ogdensburg in 1940.

In our joint defence, each country has respected the rights of the other and scrupulously observed the underlying principle of the joint declaration of 1947 that "all co-operative arrangements will be without impairment of the control of either country over all activities in its territory".

We can be profoundly grateful that we live side by side with a great power which recognizes the equality of status and respects the integrity of its neighbours.

But most of us in North America have learned from the bitter experience of two world wars that we can not isolate ourselves into security on this continent.

Fortunately almost all Canadians are resolute in their determination to have our country do its part to prevent a third world war by building up the strength of the North Atlantic Alliance and by resisting open aggression in defiance of the United Nations Charter. I do not think we need worry too much about the few deluded Canadians who have been misled by self-styled Apostles of Peace into proclaiming as war mongering what Canada is doing to prevent another world war. Nor do I think that many Canadians are deceived by those who call the tyrannies they have established "people's democracies" or who practise racial and religious persecutions while they preach what they call "human rights". Our efforts to win and secure peace in the world are not confined to armaments, necessary though they are. I think everyone here knows how great and useful a part Canada has taken in the work of the United Nations.

Fortunately we have been able to work for peace by other constructive means as well.

I refer to the Colombo Plan and the United Nations Technical Assistance programme.

The Colombo Plan was not conceived as a large scale relief effort, for as I read recently, even a grant of one billion dollars a year for the relief of the distressed in Asia would do little more than provide one hoe for every farmer.

The aim of these programmes is to give millions of people now without hope, confidence in their ability to solve their own problems and to raise their own standards of life. If they can be given that confidence, we can hope for an eventual end of the misery and suffering that now haunt their lives. I am sure their present misery and suffering do help to make them more receptive than they would otherwise be to the false promises of Communism.

What we do need to be concerned about is to prevent false confidence that the danger of Communist aggression has receded enough that we can afford to relax.

I believe that danger has receded somewhat, but it has receded only because the free world appears to mean business; and, if we are to be secure, we must continue to mean business.

And if it is vital to mean business about peace, it is also vital to mean business about world trade. No country has done more than ours since the war to promote world trade.

During the war world trade was almost totally dislocated. When the war was over Canada had lost some of our traditional customers for certain of our products. We found that the overall Canadian trade picture had changed as well. The United States was increasingly purchasing more and more from us and our total trade with the United Kingdom last year reached an all-time record, but that great country, and to a lesser degree, other European countries have been forced by a shortage of dollars to restrict the purchase of many foodstuffs which before and during the war they imported from Canada.

To offset this loss of former markets and to prevent too great a dependence on one single customer, we have have sought new outlets for our goods. The International Trade Fair held annually in Toronto has been of considerable value in this connection.

The peace treaty and the re-establishment of normal diplomatic relations with Japan will help to restore that country to its former position as a buyer of large quantities of Canadian products.

Our new Ambassador to Japan is a leading business man from British Columbia who until recently represented that province in the government at Ottawa. Mr. Mayhew knows the importance of two-way trade and we can expect him to make a practical use of that knowledge in Japan.

The recent visit to South America of a Canadian trade mission headed by the Minister of Trade and Commerce, Mr. C. D. Howe is already helping us to find new outlets and new sources of imports in an area where our trade has already increased 1800% since 1939.

We have also been conscious of the continuing importance of the markets in Commonwealth countries. Last December the Minister of Finance and I spent two weeks at a Commonwealth Economic Conference in London. Though this conference found no immediate or sensational solutions to existing problems, it did set the Commonwealth countries on a constructive course which I hope and believe will result in a long-term expansion of our mutual trade.

Trade of course must flow in two directions or it soon ceases to flow at all. We Canadians know that we could not go on indefinitely selling much more abroad than we buy. It is therefore a responsibility of the Government to do its part towards establishing the maintenance of a large market for imports and this means reasonable tariff policies and the avoidance of import restrictions.

Now, most of us ordinary human beings are not seers, nor prophets, but if we examine our situation carefully here in Canada I think we can say that 1953 looks like a good year.

But, because we are fortunate to live in this favoured land, we should not allow ourselves to forget that we also live in a very dangerous world. To do our part to meet the dangers ahead we have to face up to the responsibilities both abroad and at home and that is bound to call on the best in our national experience.

But, if our people do face the future with the United courage Canadians have displayed in the first half of the twentieth century, I, for one, have no doubt we shall justify Laurier's prediction, and, in doing so, we shall well serve not only future generations of Canadians, but the whole free world.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. John Porter, President of The Canadian Club of Toronto.

"AFTER STALIN—WHAT?"

An Address by

WILLSON WOODSIDE,
Foreign Editor, "Saturday Night"

Thursday, March 19th, 1953

CHAIRMAN: The President, Mr. John W. Griffin.

MR. GRIFFIN: Members and Guests of The Empire Club of Canada: In November, 1917, when the Armies of the West were locked in battle the liberal and so-called "Provisional" Russian government of Alexander Kerensky proved as politically bankrupt as the old régime and was swept aside by a proletarian rising. Thus was born the awful monster of Communist power. In 1924, by which time the nations of the West had given up their attempt to restore the Romanov monarchy, control of all the Russias passed into the hands of Joseph Djugashvili, whom the world knows as Stalin. In recent years the picture has been created of a genial, smiling, pipe-smoking father of the Russian people. How different is the true picture! This evil monster, this cynical murderer who is responsible for the death of literally millions of people is quoted as having said, "To choose one's victim, to prepare one's plan minutely, to slake an implacable vengeance, and then to go to bed—there is nothing sweeter in the world." Yet this is the man for whom a large memorial service was held in the City of Toronto in the Dominion of Canada just a few days ago. This is the man who even has a follower in the Ontario Legislature. We may ask ourselves the question, "After Stalin — what?"

Mr. Willson Woodside, our speaker of today, has been our guest on many occasions in the past and is one of Canada's best known news analysts. We invited him to be with us today confident that we would hear a thoughtful and well informed answer to this vital question.

MR. WILLSON WOODSIDE: Mr. Chairman, Guests and Friends of The Empire Club: The great question of the day is: "After Stalin, what?" One answer to that I heard the last time I was in Berlin. A story was going the rounds about an American sentry on the zone border, who remarked to the Russian sentry across the way: "Well, it's nearly midnight; thank God, I'll soon be relieved." The Russian sentry looked at his watch and said, "I'll soon be relieved, too, thank Stalin." To which the American sentry said: "That's a funny way to talk, Ivan, Thank Stalin. Now what would you say if Stalin were to die?" The Russian sentry said, "Then I would say, 'Thank God' ".

I think the silliest reaction to the passing of Stalin is that "it won't make any difference." It took thirty years to build a Stalin. I took the trouble of looking up an *Encyclopaedia Britannica* article which dealt with the Bolshevik revolution up to the death of Lenin, January, 1924. Stalin's name does not appear in it! I looked up the index. He was not indexed; he was not mentioned in January, 1924. By the time he died *Pravda* was calling him the "creator of the world and all its peoples"; and a speaker in one of the satellite countries recently referred to him as the "lighthouse of the planets." I don't think that Stalin believed this sort of thing—he was too cynical; but he found it useful to present himself to the Russian people as a new Tsar. They had always placed their Tsar close to God.

Stalin's cynicism is well portrayed in this little story, which I doubt you will have heard before. It was told me by Mr. Eden, sitting in his room in the Foreign Office in front of the fire, a year or so before the end of the war. He had been to Moscow not long before, with Cordell Hull, and they had spent some time there. One day, over tea Stalin had plied Eden with questions about the British Commonwealth and the relationship of its members to the mother country. When he had heard Eden out, Stalin said, "We might try something like that ourselves."

So he did. Within two months' time—and just a day or two before Eden told me the story—Stalin announced that the Ukraine and White Russia would have their own Ministers of Defence and of Foreign Affairs, and their own flags. These turned out, of course, to be faithful Russians, shipped in from Moscow. In other words, he set up all the trappings without any meaning behind them.

Stalin was cynical, but he became immensely arrogant. The best story illustrating this is, I think, told by the present Yugoslav Foreign Minister, Kardelj. He tells of being in the Kremlin when Stalin was speaking of Benelux, and referring to it as including only Belgium and Luxembourg. Kardelj said it also included the Netherlands. Stalin said, "It includes only Belgium and Luxembourg." Kardelj replied that the name "Benelux" was made up of "Be" for Belgium, "Ne" for Netherlands . . . He never got it finished, because Stalin thundered in his face, "When I say "No," I mean NO!" That was the degree of Stalin's arrogance two or three years ago.

A more genial story deals with the relationship between Stalin and Molotov. This comes from Eric Johnston. When he was President of the United States Chamber of Commerce, he had the opportunity of going all through Russia, in the difficult days of '43 and '44 when the Soviets badly needed U.S. support. So Johnston had the full treatment; he was to be the first American to be shown the new armaments cities of the Urals and Siberia. Naturally the reporters who had accompanied him to Russia clamoured to go along, to have a new story to write about. Eric Johnston wrote two notes to Molotov at the Foreign Office on the matter, but got no reply. On the eve of his departure for Siberia, being received by Stalin in the Kremlin, he took it up directly. Johnston made quite a little speech on how much the American people would be interested in hearing of this "far west" of the Russians, this pioneer country; it would develop a fellow feeling between the American and the Russian peoples. Could he not take a few correspondents along?

Stalin said, "Sure, why not?" Johnston turned to Molotov, to be polite, and asked: "Does the Foreign Minister agree?" Stalin, at first mystified, slapped his thigh when this was interpreted and roared in laughter to Johnston: "Did you think *he* wouldn't agree with *me?*" This is a true story of the relationship of the Soviet No. 2 man to the boss.

As a final illustration, we have the stories told by Stalin's nephew, Budu Svandidze, who has produced a rather admiring book on his Uncle Josef. Svandidze tells how Malenkov and his rival Zhdanov, who is supposed to have been murdered in the "doctors' case," stood like school boys and ventured no contrary opinions in front of Stalin.

Well, now these lesser men have taken over control, not only of the party and of the Soviet State, but of the satellite world and of relations with China. Nobody knows their potential. It may be as great as Stalin's—which was similarly unknown in 1924. But none can tower over the Soviet world in Stalin's place for some years to come. Look, for instance, how Mao has refused, or failed, to go to Stalin's funeral. Why? Surely, because of Oriental concern over pride and face, surely because Mao would not be put in a position where he might have had to walk behind the Soviet second team. And notice that Mao sent his Number 2 to march with the Soviet No. 2 boys and march shoulder to shoulder with them, not behind them. These are not unimportant things in Communist protocol.

See what Beria, the second most powerful man in the new Directory, said in his funeral oration last week. It is a most interesting statement, more interesting than Malenkov's and much more interesting than Molotov's. Beria said: "We know how to conduct affairs. We have experience. We have been trained by Stalin." And then the head of the Secret Police said, very nicely: "We value the confidence of the people." "The people", he added, "must surely have confidence in us." Later on: "The people *can* have confidence in us." And towards the end: "The people *should* have confidence in us."

Then he went on to say, "We are solicitously guarding the interests of the people. We will give the maximum satisfaction to their material needs." Indeed, he admitted that the people's material needs are growing—"*the growing material and cultural needs of all the people*." Not just the Party favourites who have special stores and ration coupons. Not just the Stakhanovite workers. But *all* the people. No Soviet leader in my memory has referred to *all* the people. Beria went on to promise to seek peace and trade with the outside world.

I think the important thing here is that the man who has informers in every walk of Soviet life, the man who is best equipped to know what people are thinking, believes that these are the things that people want to be assured of. Both he and Malenkov also called over and over for "the unity of the Party", which they must guard like the apple of their eye; and an appeal for unity and for the avoidance of "panic and disarray" was broadcast every hour on the hour the day Stalin's death was announced.

And what did Malenkov say in his funeral oration? He didn't bluster, and say that he was the master now, and they had better listen! He rivalled Doug Abbott in his promises of peace and plenty! He promised "boundlessly loyal service to the interests of the people"; "we will be the true servants of the people." This reminds Russians, I am sure, of the day, the only day, when Stalin came to the microphone with his water glass clinking against his teeth, in July, 1941, when the German Army was sweeping into the Soviet Union, and called the people: "Dear brothers and sisters." So Malenkov says, "We are the true servants of the people; we will strive zealously to improve their welfare."

These, I contend, are men who are unsure of themselves, at least for the present. They have never been allowed to make the big decisions; now they have to. They know that the outside world has long speculated on a struggle for power in the Kremlin after the passing of Stalin. They know the lessons of history, how few

March 9th: Rt. Hon. Louis St. Laurent.

empires have survived the fall of the conqueror who founded them. They are aware of Mao who towers over any of them as a "theologian" of the Communist "world church". Malenkov has never written anything that I have seen published, except the report of the Central Committee of the Party, which he read at the nineteenth Congress last October.

These men, I suggest, are worried about Tito's successful defiance and about his new Balkan Pact set up so timely, just a month ago, which offers release for Bulgaria and Albania from the Soviet grip, and a safe haven into which they can escape. Special military precautions were ordered in both these satellites when Stalin's illness was announced.

I think these Soviet leaders are worried about Czechoslovakia, where Gottwald had more personal power than any other satellite leader; where people have known a better standard of living than the other satellites; a country which is not occupied by the Red Army, and which is exposed to the build-up of Western power on its borders; a people susceptible to appeals coming from America, where Masaryk founded their free republic in 1918. It looks to me as if Malenkov and Beria had stepped in and given poison to Mr. Gottwald. It is hard to believe that Gottwald, with access to all the medical attention available in Czechoslovakia — would have died from pneumonia between Thursday and Saturady.

Speaking of medical attention, which the Soviets are always so eager to provide foreign Communist leaders, there is the story of the doctor sent by the Kremlin to help Tito in 1947; in that case the doctor died! And Mr. Churchill remarked in the Commons the other day, in answer to an enquiry as to whether he contemplated a trip to Moscow for a meeting of the Big Three, that it "scarcely seemed a propitious moment to go to Moscow, at a time when all the best doctors were engaged in killing all the best politicians", but, of course, if all other matters could be arranged, he could take his personal physician along!

I believe, too, that the incidents involving the shooting down of Allied planes in Germany show that the Soviets are worried about their hold over Eastern Germany and Czechoslovakia. It is along their borders that the plane incidents have taken place. Incidentally, I think that the present pull of West Germany on East Germany is exactly the opposite to what the Soviets must have expected at the end of the war. I don't think the plane incidents here show that the Soviets are about to start a war. The Soviets don't start wars that way. They have started two within our fresh memory, both by sudden overnight attack; against Poland on the 17th September, 1939, and against Finland November 30th, 1939. This is the way they go to war, and the way they will do it if they attack us. They are not going to start a war by dribbles, to alarm us, alert us, and give us time to move *Sabre* fighters over to Western Europe. I hope you realize the real significance for Canada of those incidents last week. In this case Canada was in the front line; we had the only fighters over there to meet the *Migs* last week, the R.C.A.F. *Sabres.*

So I suggest the meaning of these incidents is that these fellows are saying: "Don't start anything." They sent out fresh orders on Stalin's death, and these orders were to be tough, to shoot down anything that came near to the borders of the Soviet Empire.

I think, too, that they are worried about China. They have rushed a new ambassador there, a man so high in the Party that he was included in the Presidium last October, Vassili Kuznetsov. I had the pleasure, when he was the head of the so-called Soviet Trade Unions, at a conference held in Oakland during the San Francisco meeting of the U.N., of asking Kuznetsov if the Soviet Trade Unions were not in fact the largest company union in the world? At that time he had the job of dividing world labour, drawing as much as possible of it into the Communist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions (which forced the formation of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions). After that, Kuznetsov was put in charge of the "peace" movement. Then he was very prominent in the so-called World Economic Conference staged in Moscow a year ago to try to draw

European trade out of the American orbit and towards the East. So Kuznetsov, with his world-wide connections, was made Deputy Foreign Minister, and with this prestige, rushed a few days ago to China.

I think, too, that these men are worried about the Soviet Army. One of the most important names mentioned in the past fortnight is that of Marshall Zhukov. Zhukov is the favourite of the Soviet High Command. Surely the Soviet leaders must consider the Army to be dangerously strong for a period of transition of political power. They will remember all too well the last Bonapartist threat, the Tukhachevsky Case just before the war, which I think was a real threat from the Army. I think the politicians in the Kremlin today would consider the Army dangerously strong. They are appeasing it by bringing its favourite Zhukov back from virtual exile in the Urals to a post in the Defence Ministry; and it would not be surprising if they sought means of reducing the Army, which would mean reducing the temperature of the so-called "cold" war.

There is one "but" to that, however, which is worth keeping in mind. Stalin could retreat easier than Malenkov will be able to do. Stalin, with his immense prestige, could pull out of a situation like the Berlin Blockade. It won't be so easy for the new man to accept loss of face.

However, I can't believe that the new Soviet leaders want war now. This would mean more power for the generals, and the Party men have not forgotten that in 1942 when the whole fate of Russia was in the hands of the generals, and with their backs to the wall of Stalingrad, the generals were able to force the removal of the hated political commissars from the Army. It was not until near the end of the war that Stalin felt strong enough to put the political commissars back into the Army.

Also, war would bring the risk of many soldiers deserting as soon as they got beyond the boundary of the U.S.S.R., as they did in droves at the end of the last war. It would mean the risk of smashing everything that has been built up in the past 25 years. So my interpretation is that Malenkov will play a careful game. His whole adult life has been spent in the centre of things in the Kremlin. He earned Stalin's personal secretariat when he left University, and he spent years in the Central Committee of the Party. He has made Stalin his model, he apes him in dress, and has built his own career closely along the lines of Stalin's. I think that, having so obviously moulded his career on Stalin's and his methods on Stalin's this is what he knows and the line he will follow. He knows all about Stalin's manoeuvres of twenty-five years ago, first with the Triumvirate, so reminiscent of the present set-up, and then the use of the "Right Opposition" to destroy the so-called "Left Opposition", headed by Trotsky, and finally the liquidation of the "Right", headed by Bukharin.

But the others know their Party history, too. I think that one must assume that if they are tough enough to have survived so far, they will try to some extent to check Malenkov. So we will listen in pleasant expectation for the sound of pistol shots within the Kremlin walls.

I don't think that Malenkov will upset the Triumvirate immediately. He needs Beria, who has headed the police for fifteen years, too much. For the present Beria is indispensable to maintain control of the people and the Army and the satellites. Malenkov also needs Bulganin and Zhukov to maintain control of the Army. He needs Molotov to show that he is continuing the Stalin tradition, because everything will be done in the name of Stalin for a while. He needs Molotov especially for his experience in dealing with the Western leaders, if only to advise what we really mean when we do certain things.

He needs Mikoyan, who for many years has been the great Soviet trade expert.

Let me conclude by pointing out the half dozen things which have most impressed me in the turn-over following Stalin's death.

One is the rise in importance of the State apparatus, alongside the Party apparatus. If you look at the communiqués given out during Stalin's illness and the announcement of his death, you will see that they refer in one sentence to "the Central Committee of the Communist Party", and in the next to "the Council of Ministers". In other words protocol requires now that these be mentioned interchangeably. That is, the Council of Ministers has now become a body as important as the Central Committee. This is very different from the situation when Stalin took over. Since then great new hierarchies have been built up. One of them is the enormous industrial apparatus with its technocrats, some of whom have risen to great power. One of them even gave the oration in Red Square at the celebration of the Revolution last November.

Other great hierachies which have been built up in the last twenty-five years by the State, the Army and the Police challenge to a certain extent the hierarchy of the Party, which completely dominated the scene in the early 'twenties. Stalin built up his whole dictatorship from the position of Secretary-General of the Party. When he died he was referred to, first, as Chairman of the Council of Ministers, and second, as General Secretary of the Communist Party in his death notice.

I was struck too by the undoing of much of Stalin's work of last October in creating a 36-man Presidium to replace the 14-man Politiburo, with an immediate return to the smaller body.

I was struck by the moving of General Zhukov into the Defence Ministry; and by the deference to China in all speeches. The people of China were in every case named ahead of the so-called People's Democracies, whose people went nameless.

And I was struck by the quick establishment of the new protocol. Malenkov's funeral oration was rebroadcast 54 times over the Soviet radio; Beria's only 35 times, and Molotov's only 22 times!

After Stalin what? We go out the door whereby we came in. It took many years to build a Stalin, and for Stalin to build an empire. He left a system which needs a dictator. There is no dictator today, and it is going to take some years for Malenkov to acquire Stalin's full power.

In the meantime there must be greater uncertainty throughout Soviet Russia and the Soviet World than there is in the Western world. Everybody who has to make a speech throughout the Soviet Empire today must be worried about how many leaders to refer to, how to refer to Malenkov, who else to include, who to leave out? After Stalin—Uncertainty! Ed Murrow had a story last night about an outbreak of illegible signatures in Hungary, with no one willing to take responsibility.

So I say, after Stalin, uncertainty for a while, surely less pressure from the Soviet Union on us, and more opportunity for us to press the liberation policy which General Eisenhower and Mr. Dulles have urged, aimed at freeing the satellite countries and getting Russia off the back of Europe.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Professor R. M. Saunders of the Department of History, University of Toronto.

"LET'S FIND THE ANSWER"

An Address by

FARLEY FAULKNER and ASSOCIATE
The Pro-Canadians Who Packed Massey Hall

Thursday, March 26th, 1953

CHAIRMAN: The President, Mr. John W. Griffin.

MR. GRIFFIN: Ladies and Gentlemen: Yesterday morning I sent the following cablegram to

> "Her Majesty the Queen,
> Buckingham Palace,
> London, England.
>
> On behalf of the 1800 members of The Empire Club of Canada I extend sincere sympathy on the death of Queen Mary STOP We will long treasure the memory of one who throughout her life represented all that is finest in the Empire and Commonwealth.
>
> John Griffin,
> President."

I could say much more about Queen Mary as could any of you. There will be no mass memorial service held for her in the City of Toronto. It is not necessary because this service will be held in secret in the hearts of the Canadian people. There will be no monument erected to her because her monument is our memory of the life of her son, our late beloved King George VI, whose worth we did not know until he was no longer here. Her monument is our beautiful young Queen to whose grace and dignity and high imperial resolve Queen Mary made such a great contribution.

Mary Regina, may she rest in peace.

Article 6, sub-section 2 of the Club's constitution reads, inter alia, as follows: "A Nominating Committee consisting of five members of the Executive Committee and four other members shall be appointed by the Executive Committee and approved at a regular or special meeting of the Club and such Committee shall report to the Annual Meeting." Your executive has appointed the following gentlemen to serve on this Committee:

FROM EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

From Executive Committee	*From the Membership*
S. S. Fletcher	R. A. Stapells
Dr. C. C. Goldring	Z. S. Phimister
J. Palmer Kent	H. R. Lawson
Harold Menzies	Col. W. H. Montague
Donald H. Jupp, O.B.E.	

It has been moved by Mr. Colebrook and seconded by Dr. Crummey that these gentlemen be approved at your Nominating Committee.

All in favor of this motion, please indicate. Contrary, if any? It is carried.

Members and Guests of the Empire Club of Canada; Following the death of Stalin the Communists of Toronto and their fellow travelers held a memorial service in Massey Hall in honour of this infamous man. One plain citizen of Toronto, Farley Faulkner, was so incensed at these proceedings that he organized a counter-meeting in the same Hall a few days later. On this occasion Mr. Faulkner and a number of men who had escaped from the horrors of the Communist-dominated lands set forth a true picture of the late Russian leader and portrayed him, not as the white hope of mankind, but as the ravening beast he was.

Of United Empire Loyalist stock, our speaker is the son of a physician who was a Minister of the Crown in the Hepburn Government and the grandson of a man who was reeve of a Hasting's County Township for many years. Mr. Faulkner's early training was as a newspaperman and writer and it was through this connection that he first became aware of Communist propaganda methods.

In the world of today most men are willing to leave difficult tasks to someone else. We are all aware of the prevailing tendency to leave everything to that vague and unspecified body which we call "the government." And yet, deep in our hearts, we all know that we have a duty to participate actively in the affairs of our great Dominion our Province and our City. It is only when the citizens of a Political Unit are alert, informed and even, if need be, violently interested in public affairs that that Political Unit is well-governed. Mr. Farley Faulkner is a wonderful example of the ordinary citizen who "decided to do something about it". The people of Toronto will always be grateful to him for having demonstrated conclusively that there is real vitality in the forces of justice and right. As long as there are alert and vigorous citizens like Mr. Faulkner to spring to the defence of our institutions we need not fear the enveloping gloom that blankets the lands beyond the Iron Curtain. Mr. Faulkner!

MR. FARLEY FAULKNER: Mr. Chairman, Honoured Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen: I wish I could believe just about one-quarter of what your president was so kind to say about me personally, but about the general text of his remarks I can believe it 100%, and I would like to introduce one of the very first chaps who came to my rescue, to help me with the job I was to do. This chap is a law student here. He comes from Esthonia. His name is A. Kerson. He will be a real good Canadian citizen, and there are thousands like him coming over here. He has the same thoughts and the same feelings that we have regarding this precious heritage of ours, that we refer to as our "freedom", and he will tell you now for a few moments a little bit about Communism as he experienced it in action.

Mr. Kerson!

MR. KERSON: Mr. Chairman, Honoured Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen: It is a great privilege to be here today with Farley Faulkner, and talk about Communism. It is also a very pleasant task to do that. I should say, only the task is pleasant, because the subject is very unpleasant.

Communism, and the horrors of a Communist regime, all the deportations and killings, and purgings and distress, are so much talked about today and written about, that not a few Canadians would become bored, and they would perhaps ask, "Can all this be true?" I understand this attitude, because Canada is such a free and happy and prosperous country, and people very understandably dislike to think about unpleasant things. They would rather not believe and go about their business. But this very attitude prevailed in Esthonia in 1940 when Communism made its first steps toward world conquest. The three Baltic countries were the first victims of Communist aggression. These were small countries, but since it has been proven that larger countries can be subdued in the same manner.

Now Communism has reached the heart of Central Europe, and is right at the gates of the cradle of Western and Christian Civilization, and has its outposts in every country that is yet free. Communism is therefore a danger, a real danger to freedom, security and prosperity.

Now you might ask me, "Why then is Communism dangerous?" In reply, I would like to give you a few glimpses of life under a Communist regime, in a country that the Communists had taken over. This country is Esthonia, where I came from, and where I had the misfortune of spending one long and terrible year under Communist rule, of which my impressions are indelible.

If you would have had the misfortune to be in Communist Esthonia at that time, the first thing that you would probably notice is that the country is under foreign occupation. Of course, as a rule, there is no Communist country without the Red Army occupation. This Soviet occupation can by no means be compared with the occupation upon which the British rule of India where the whole 300,000,000 was ruled by a couple of thousand military was based in more civilized times. In Esthonia, where the population is a little over 1 million, there were approximately 200,000 Red Army soldiers, plus tanks and ships and planes—it is a tremendous show of force that was exhibited in Esthonia in June, 1940. Naturally, the country is completely paralysed, the people numb with terror. Now the time has arrived for the local Communists to take over. I should say in Esthonia at that time there were proportionately the same number of local Communists as there are now in Canada. These local Communists form a government, and, together with the Soviet Communist party, the powerful Soviet secret police, and under the protection of the Red Army bayonets, they transformed the free, democratic and Christian and relatively prosperous Esthonia into the pagan Communist state it has remained until these times.

This Communist Esthonia, ladies and gentlemen, is a peculiar creature; it is quite different from anything the average Western man could possibly visualize. Of course, there is no private property. There is but one employer, and this is the state, and everybody is dependent for wages and salaries upon this sole and powerful employer. Naturally, you can not express your opinion freely, or elect your representatives to govern you. You have to spend most of your Sundays attending compulsory meetings and parades. The treasured weapon of the workers, the strike, is a memory from the cursed capitalist past. The trade Unions are now but agents of the sole employer, the state. If you wanted to be a loyal subject and get ahead in the Communist hierarchy, you couldn't afford to be seen in church, or to send your children to Sunday School.

The Communists proclaim a fair distribution of wealth, but they achieve an unfair distribution of poverty, because everybody in Esthonia is much poorer now than he ever was in capitalist Esthonia, with the exception, perhaps, of the Communist bosses. These are a few features, Ladies and Gentlemen, of a Communist regime, but they are all commonplace, of a secondary order. People are poor, they have no freedom, nor have they leisure. All this is bearable.

But, if you would have been there, you would have noticed as a salient feature something that really characterizes a Communist State, a feature I should say of a mental or spiritual order. And this is fear. People are frightened. Nobody is safe any more, because everybody who is not a whole-hearted communist, is suspect of anti-communism, and therefore liable to extermination as an enemy of the state. This fear is created by systematic arrests, deportations and executions. People simply disappear—from the streets, from their homes, usually in the early morning hours. And they very seldom return. The victims wind up in the execution chambers of a local jail, or in the vast slave labor areas in Siberia where death is a little more slow. A fine example of this method of governing, of obtaining obedience by the medium of fear, took place on June 14th, 1941, when in the course of 24 hours, 9730 Esthonians were arrested; Esthonians from all walks of life, men, women and children, most of them dragged from their beds between three and five in the morning. These people were first loaded into trucks, and then, at the railway stations, reloaded into cattle cars, from 30 to 50 humans per car, men separated from their wives and children, and then transported several thousand miles away from their homes to the Siberian peat bogs and mines. Hundreds of these unfortunates died and lost their minds, or committed suicide, on this terrible journey. This is but one example. The result of one single year of Communist rule in Esthonia was that a little over 60,000 Esthonians were either killed directly or indirectly by way of starvation and mistreatment in slave labor camps. And this was peace time in Esthonia. When you read news reports from Europe, and find that every week thousands of people are fleeing, at the risk of their lives, from East Germany, Poland, and Communist countries, then you can again see this fear, because people don't risk their lives if they are not very much afraid. Thus fear is created. At first you feel it, and it disturbs you, but from year to year you become insensitive, and you will slowly transform into a different creature from what we know a man to be—you are transformed into the Soviet man.

There are many features that characterize a Communist State, but this fear created by killing and torture is perhaps the most salient. At the conclusion I would like to say there is also one pleasant fact about this Communist rule,—to see how the local Communists fared, the traitors who took over power in Esthonia in 1940 and so assiduously helped to destroy the country. As an illustration, I would submit a single fact.

Of all those Communists who took power then and who very prominently appeared in the State reports, not a single one appears today any more in radio, or in newspapers, or in letters, or in official reports. This fact I always like very much to recommend as a subject for meditation to our Canadian Communists.

This is Communism in action, very briefly stated, from experience in 1940. The question might arise: hasn't it changed in the meanwhile? More than ten years have passed. We are still receiving newspapers, letters and reports from Esthonia. If it has changed, then for the worse. There are the same things—poverty, killings, deportations.

A similar fate has befallen not only Esthonia, but many countries in Europe. You will see that Communism is really a disease; and there is the danger that it will spread. It is a communicable disease. I would not like these things to happen to any country in the world that has had the good fortune to remain free, and certainly I would not want these things to happen to this prosperous and beautiful and free and democratic Canada.

MR. FARLEY FAULKNER: Mr. President, Honoured Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen:

When your President called me on the telephone, in the midst of what I now refer to as "my twelve day nightmare" during which I lost weight under the pressures and demands the public can make of you; when he 'phoned me and asked me would I address this Club, I said I would, and I would be honored in the privilege. Then he said, "What would you speak about", and I very glibly said, "Let's find the answers."

Ladies and Gentlemen, the answers are not easy to find. There are some very brilliant brains and some men who are just as sincerely interested in finding the answers as I am, in Washington, London and Ottawa, and all of the answers have not yet been found.

I have chosen to divide into two sections my answers. I have had very little time to think about answers, but tc this moment, in the two or three hours I have had, I see this thing first from the physical side—the physical side which will deal with the Kremlin. And secondly, and probably more important, I see it from the moral side, which has specifically to do with us as individuals.

Now the hand of the Kremlin succeeded in reaching into Massey Hall and grabbing hold of my body when I stood up to defend England against accusations being made by the Dean of the Church of England, who was describing Russia as the "architect of the future", and referring to England in a very bad light. My reward for that was that I was seized by what they call a "goon" squad and escorted out of Massey Hall. Now that is the physical hand of the Kremlin, and it can reach into the heart of this loyal city and into Massey Hall in such a manner.

As I was being escorted out the voice of the Kremlin spoke in almost a sneering way, and said, "If you want to speak, then hire a hall." That is probably the only command that I will ever obey that will come from that voice. That voice thought that I would forget it, that I would reject it, and that I would go back to my little business and look forward to the opening baseball game.

But I started to think about that voice and that challenge, and when my son came up here to play in a School Provincial play-offs, I put the question to him. I said, "Bert, this is what has happened. This is what I think I should do about it. If I do this, I shall probably dedicate the rest of my life to trying to make a contribution to the welfare of this nation. You as my son will be exposed to criticism of your father by all the enemies that my good conscience will choose to oppose, because I will do what I think is right and follow the dictates of my conscience and seek the guidance of God in such matters." My son is nineteen years old, and about 6′ 2½″. He straightened up and said, "Dad what are you waiting for?"

So on a Sunday I went down to the *Globe and Mail,* had a chat with the editor, discussed the thing. He referred me to Bruce West, a columnist who did what I call the "kick-off for this play."

I would not like to leave the Massey Hall picture without mentioning that Kremlin Agency,—the Society for Soviet Peace and Friendship. Friendship! All they did while I was there was rip to pieces a man whom I admire more than possibly any other man at this moment, —Dwight Eisenhower. Then these "friends" turned their fire on Churchill who did such a splendid job when the chips were down in the Second World War, when England was standing alone—this England that the Dean of Canterbury chooses to show in such a bad light. If that is their idea of peace and friendship, I don't want any part of it.

Still on the physical side of this thing,—I just want you to realize that these people are not ghosts or witches, they are real people. They are here in Toronto, and they are all over Canada.

They are in government. I don't say they are in high places in government: they don't have to be in high places. Alger Hiss was not in a very high place. Are there many? No, they do not require many. Right now in the Soviet itself there are less than 1% of the total population who are privileged party members. Now who are these people? Are they civilized? Should they be treated as civilized people? Their hands are bloody with the murder of millions of men and women just like you. And I am going in with the help of Mr. Kerson and others like him to organize a Coast to Coast information and Lecture Panel service, which will take to the people of this country the picture of what is really behind this

Kremlin mask. This should counteract some of the propaganda that they are putting across to our school children and you people.

When I was a boy there was a sign I used to pass on the way to school. It said, "Palmolive Soap keeps that school girl complexion." And do you know that after I passed that sign for many months when I would see a girl who had a lovely complexion, I would say to myself, "Ah, she uses Palmolive Soap." That is what selling can do. They keep repeating such charges as germ warfare that many of our people begin to believe them.

We have a better product, and we should do a better selling job than these people, and we will, we must, take the initiative in this regard.

Shakespeare wrote:

"Hear me, good brother,
Under your pardon. You must note beside.
That we have tried the utmost of our friends,
Our legions are brimful, our cause is ripe:
The enemy increaseth every day;
We, at the height, are ready to decline.
There is a tide in the affairs of men,
Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune,
Omitted, all the voyage of their life is bound in shallows
and in miseries.
On such a full sea are we now afloat,
And we must take the current when it serves,
Or lose our ventures."

We must take the initiative from the Kremlin. That's why "I like Ike." I think he is the kind of man who will help us do it. Here is a letter from a school teacher.

"Dear Mr. Faulkner:

Would you please mail me two tickets for your meeting at Massey Hall for March 12th?

I for one am very pleased at what you are contemplating because I have felt for some time Mr. Average Canadian was taking our way of life too-for-granted.

I felt that way particularly last spring when I went to

> Maple Leaf Gardens to hear for myself just exactly what were the charges Dr. Endicott was making. I had known Mrs. Endicott as she was a member of the Board for which I teach.
>
> That evening disturbed me greatly, and at one point when I could no longer take the charges levelled against our leaders, I called out "That's not true"! But when three men seated behind me retaliated "Yes, it is"! I decided I had better keep quiet. I was alone and had on my new spring hat!
>
> So in the face of that, Mr. Faulkner, I would not risk going to hear the Red Dean—and after what I observed and heard at the Spring Rally, I am not surprised at the treatment you received.
>
> I think you will be surprised to find how many of us are behind what you are doing and are keen to hear some of the good ways of our Democratic way of life expounded upon."

I now am going to get personal. Bernard Baruch has referred to our weakening moral fibre. The Professors will tell you about our moral vacuum. Last night Mr. Lester Pearson explained Religion has a part to play in this, but I believe that the miracles that democracies have performed in the past, and will perform in the future, are miracles that come from the individual hearts and minds and sweat of individuals. It is a collective effort. But it starts with the individual. It can't be laid on by a bureaucracy, or a government. It has to come up from you.

One of the obvious first steps to defeat a Godless Communism is go to Church. We should find ourselves before we go looking for Communists.

I had women call me in the last few days whose children have been approached with propaganda from the Kremlin. One, a Lieutenant-Commander's wife, told me her fourteen-year old son came and asked her, "Why is Mr. Eisenhower trying to pick a quarrel with Russia?"

An amendment to the Criminal Code, would simply be a final resort, a last resort, and a very poor resort.

We would be admitting, that we are too lazy to cope with this problem ourselves, and we would like the government and the police force to look after another job for us. This is YOUR JOB. Freedom is everybody's business.

When I was a newspaper reporter down in Belleville, there was a typical drowning accident. Many people were gathered around the body of a small boy. I was on the fringe of that crowd and behind me was a lady who was just morbidly curious. We worked our way towards the centre. Then something happened that I will never forget as long as I live. The lady beside me screamed: "My God. My son!"

Ladies and Gentlemen, freedom is the precious child of every good citizen here. We must take more than a morbid crowd's interest in that child if we are going to preserve it or be worthy of it.

Now as far as faith goes, John Foster Dulles says we must capture a sense of mission. This must start at your level too. I think we have to re-capture the faith, the dream and the imagination that the early pioneer had when he landed on this continent, looked around, saw a lot of trees, nothing much else, and said, "This is God's country!" Let's try to keep it that way!

We are still young. Our pioneering has not even started yet. And we have faith! This story will illustrate what I mean. I was driving in the country one Sunday night, and the sky was illuminated for miles around by a fire. When I arrived I saw the barn had been burned to the ground, and most of the livestock had been lost. Livestock, as you know, get panicky during a fire and do not like to leave their stalls. The house had been burned to the ground too. There were two people standing there, a man and a woman. Their hands were interlocked, and although there were hundreds of people there, I knew that this man and woman were the husband and wife, and that twenty years or so of their lives had been spent in building up what had burned to the ground, and I studied their faces, and the man said something—he said, "We will start again, we will start again!" And his hand tightened on that of his wife. I made some enquiries and learned they did not have 5 cents fire insurance. BUT THEY HAD FAITH.

So we still have it, and let's get it alive and working, and active, in our every-day life before our Freedoms are taken from us. While faith remains we will have freedom.

Freedom has always been challenged by tyrants. It has never been an easy road. And there is no easy answer to this present challenge.

I have had letters from mothers and fathers who have sons in Korea and Germany, and frankly, these people are confused. They all say, "It is time to do something about this." They don't understand, their sons don't, and all the speeches in the world will never explain to them, why they are being shot at by Communist bullets in Korea, and we are receiving these people here with open arms and allowing them to contaminate our schools and the whole fabric of our national life. We must replace confusion with faith and vote these people out of office. We must pay more than lip service to the church and be better citizens.

I am glad to have been here, today. I have been so busy trying to set up an Ontario Executive—about fourteen hours of my days and nights are occupied in this work—that I have not had time to prepare anything that would even sound like a speech. But I will have time to think later on. My Executive will be organized. I have some of the best selling brains that I can get for this important work.

But organizing is not an easy job, as many of you men who have had to do it know, and it is doubly difficult in this type of work because instead of checking a man one way I have to check him three different ways, and even then I may be wrong.

Now I would like you people to go out from here with this thought in mind, that you as citizens of Toronto will do your utmost to be better citizens of Toronto. If you are not going to church, I would suggest you try it. If you have children going to school, I would suggest you make it a point to meet the teachers of your children, and join a Parent-Teachers Association. You show that you are actively interested in good work because you belong to this Empire Club.

In closing, I would like to pay my tribute to the late Queen Mary. I think her whole life was one of the finest examples in the history of the Commonwealth of devotion to duty, an example for us to follow.

Thank you very much.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mrs. Kate Aitken.

"LET'S FREE TRADE"

An Address by

JOHN S. COLEMAN,
President, Burroughes Adding Machins Company,
Detroit, Michigan

Toronto, April 2nd, 1953

CHAIRMAN: The President, Mr. John W. Griffin.

MR. GRIFFIN: Members and guests of the Empire Club of Canada: Every great business enterprise like every great man-made achievement is the result of a dream, an idea, a hope of a better way of doing things. Such is indeed the case with the Burroughs Adding Machine Company. When I set to the task of preparing this introduction I knew I would uncover a story of amazing business success but I hoped for more. I was not disappointed for the story of Burroughs is a tale of high romance. Looking back into the past, to the days when all bookkeeping entries were made by hand, when totals were laboriously won and then just as laboriously checked for errors, it is difficult for us to understand how business activities were carried on at all. In the 1880's in upstate New York a young bookkeeper, William Seward Burroughs, conceived the idea of constructing a machine that would add long columns of figures accurately. Out of his dream was born a commercial revolution and the company he sired today circles the globe. Burroughs was fortunately to live long enough to see his machines gain acceptance and today his name is a household word wherever business is carried on.

There are many remarkable things about this company. Its 20,000 employees operate factories on three continents and staff its many offices throughout the world. For fifty years it has never passed a dividend. To me the most interesting thing about it, however, is its record of success in the field of labour relations. Burroughs, as you know, has its headquarters in Detroit, long a scene of violent labour unrest. For example: for many years the United Automobile Workers of the C.I.O. planned a certification election at the principal Burroughs' works in Detroit. Such an election was held on October 11, 1951. Ninety-five percent of the Burroughs' employees in Detroit who were eligible to vote went to the polls and they rejected the Union by a majority of five to one. As one writer put it, "the election was the pay-off for a lifetime of golden rule treatment of labour. Burroughs has always been a good place to work." There has never been a strike at the Burroughs plant in sixty-five years and an extremely large percentage of its employees have been with it for a long period of time. The same writer added "It is little more than the truth to say that only an Act of God can separate a Burroughs man from the payroll". For fifty years Burroughs has been doing the things that other companies have only come to accept, in a last despairing effort to avert labour unrest, in the last fifteen years.

Such is the Company directed by Mr. John S. Coleman, our speaker of today. Following service with the United States Army in World War I he joined the Burroughs organization in 1920 in its Washington branch. Concurrently with his work as a junior salesman he attended Georgetown University Law School from which he was graduated in 1924 as a Bachelor of Laws. His rise from that time was constant and in 1946 he became president of this mighty enterprise. Mr. Coleman is active on the Boards of a bewildering variety of important business organizations and leading community activities. Among other things he is a Trustee of the University of Detroit and the President of the Detroit Board of Commerce. Mr. Coleman is of special interest to Canadians because of the leading part he is taking in that group of Detroit industrialists who are advocating a drastic revision of United States tariffs.

MR. JOHN S. COLEMAN: Mr. President, Distinguished Guests, Gentlemen of The Empire Club: I am indeed honoured to be with you today, which marks the second engagement of visiting with you at the Empire Club, and I like your quality of bringing together all of my competitors.

I feel, Gentlemen, that we meet today at a particularly crucial moment for American foreign economic policy. A number of facts, it seems to me, combine to make the next few months a time for decision. In the first place, as you all so well know, we do have a new administration in Washington. Secondly, it is abundantly clear that the United States foreign aid program has failed to bring a durable solution of world imballance; and, thirdly, the Trade Agreements Act, under which our tariffs have been revised in recent decades, expires in June. The issue, then—and it is a widely debated one—is simply this: can the United States get itself a policy appropriate to its position in the world economy?

It is an issue in which Canada is also deeply involved. I do not, however, propose to prescribe for Canada. My concern is with the United States and the responsibilities of American business in determining our foreign economic policy. Nevertheless, it may be appropriate to mention that though Canada may suffer at times from the U.S. tariff policy; at the same time, as a part and a very important part of the dollar world, Canada also has in some respects similar responsibilities for world economic leadership as the United States. In fact, some of the things I have to say may well be applicable to Canadian policy. But on that point, you as business leaders in Canada must come to your own conclusions.

Before an audience of this kind it is superfluous to detail the background of this issue. As you all know well, the United States has for many years been a surplus or creditor nation. In the postwar period, our exports have outrun imports at the annual rate of about $5 billion. At the same time, from July, 1945, to June, 1952, foreign economic aid amounted to about $34 billion. In short, our export trade has been in large part financed by the American taxpayer. There is no doubt that public opinion in the States will not permit an indefinite continuation of foreign aid. And, the Europeans themselves certainly have no wish to continue as recipients of charity. The argument that this is required to meet temporary difficulties I feel has worn very thin. What is needed is a new look at the long term facts and the formulation of policies that make sense in the terms of them.

We all agreed that after the war the reconstruction of Western Euorpe was of prime interest to us, and to that end we supplied billions of dollars of aid. We agreed that the purpose of this aid, if you please, was to enable the countries of Western Europe to develop their industries to the point where they could stand on their own feet and pay for the dollar imports they so sadly needed. Attention was directed above to the correction of the deficit in Western Europe's balance of payments with the dollar world. This, in effect, was to be the test of our success in rebuilding Europe.

Yet, it was as clear as day that Europe's deficit problem could not be solved unless exports to the dollar area were increased. In no other way could the countries of Western Europe get, of themselves, sufficient dollars to pay for the much needed products of your country and mine. The fact was that to complete the programme in Europe, the United States needed a programme of its own. Our exhortations to the Europeans to produce were nonsense unless we allowed them to sell what they produced. It was incombent on us to clear away any of the obstacles that prevented European industries, so carefully nursed back to life, from earning dollars by fair competition in our market. Not only was this action needed to complete the logic of the Marshall Plan, but it was also emphatically required by our philosophy of free enterprise and free competition.

Now to a certain extent both our two countries have implemented this other side of the European Recovery Programme. Canada, for example, has entered into negoations to reduce barriers to trade and has taken steps to encourage imports from dollar deficient countries. In the United States, as a result of bilateral negotiations under the Trade Agreements Act and as a result of multilateral negotiations under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) the average ad valorem equivalent of United States duties on dutiable imports has been decreased from 25.8% in 1934 to 13.3% in August, 1951. In fact, by 1949 concessions had covered about 95% of all of our dutiable imports.

All this may seem to be a creditable achievement, and certainly it is. But to a growing body of Americans, it is regarded only as a beginning. Many, in fact, have been quite outspoken of late to the effect that much more remains to be done. For the fact is, such progress as has been made rests on very, very shaky foundations. As you may know, on June 12th of this year the Trade Agreements Act will expire. But even if that Act is renewed it should be remembered that in its present form it is a very imperfect instrument. Tariff changes are limited to 50% of the rates that were in effect on January 1, 1945. Moreover, the peril point amendment can be used by interested parties to prevent tariff reductions. And if that pressure is not successful they can later seek withdrawal of any tariff concessions, by means of what is known as the escape clause. Under that clause, serious injury to a domestic industry was made a reason for the withdrawal of a modification or a concession. And, our Tariff Commission has on occasion ruled that injury was involved in a case where the expansion of domestic production had not kept pace with the growth of imports.

But this is not all. Most of the negotiations under the Trade Agreements Act have in the years since 1947 been embodied in the General Agreements on Tariffs and Trade. (GATT was formulated in Geneva as you will remember). As perhaps you know, however, the United States was brought into General Agreements on Tariffs and Trade under an executive agreement that was never submitted to Congress. As a result critics of the General Agreements on Tariffs and Trade have maintained that it is not valid. Moreover, in passing Section 104 of our Defense Production Act, despite assertions of the State Department that its provisions violated the General Agreements on Tariffs and Trade, Congress in fact served notice that it did not regard the agreement as binding. The fact is, lower tariffs have never been enacted into the law of the United States. They rest on the weak foundation of trade agreements which can be easily overturned. For if the United States should withdraw from the General Agreements on Tariffs and Trade most of our tariff rates would rise to the level existing prior to 1947, and in some cases to the level of 1930, and that means the iniquitous Smoot-Hawley level. 85% of our export trade would be affected. The immediate increase in rates on items affected by the General Agreements on Tariffs and Trade would average at least 70% and the average increase on all dutiable items would be in the neighbourhood of 37%.

I have already said that some progress has been made in revising the American tariff. But we don't want to exaggerate the effect of these reductions, because today there are more than 3500 duties still in effect. Of these, some 492 exceed 50% ad valorem; several hundred are 25% ad valorem or more, and many rates, such as those on coal tar dyes are virtually prohibitive. Strangely enough, we have duties on valuable raw materials that are either non-existent in the States at all or in vastly insufficient quantities. As an illustration we have a duty of 20c per pound on manganese; 50c per pound on vanadium; 60c per lb. plus 40% of its value on tungsten; 20% on titanium; 35 cents per lb. on molybdenum ore content, and even a tariff on nickel. Moreover, much important machinery and many essential chemicals that we need and do not have in the States at all must be imported over a tariff barrier.

Now there are not as many arguments in favour of a protective tariff as there are industries who request a protective tariff. But the central theme around which all tariffs seem to revolve is the fear of so-called cheap foreign competition, the cheap labour content, entirely ignoring the fact that both in the States and in Canada we have a productivity factor that is unequalled in the rest of the world. For example, in your country and in mine, the productivity per capita factor is twice that of Great Britain; three times that of France, and on an average nine times that of the rest of the world. The average investment in order to make this productivity factor is something in the order of $17,000 per employee in Canada and the United States. We must assume then that the rest of the world that is going to compete, and we seem to be so afraid of, has identically the same technology, identically the same productivity factor, but pays much less wages. That is the oldest argument that has ever been conceived in any protective tariff.

I will admit there may be one good argument for protection, and that is where an industry can be proved essential to national defence. But even then I believe that the degree of protection must be strictly limited to the needs of security; and of course we will have to consider the effects of tariff reductions on existing industries. Investors have made investments in good faith and many depend for employment on protected industries. In short, I believe that a specific programme will be needed to deal with the problems of adjustment.

There is no simple prescription, but several possibilities have been suggested. In the first place, I firmly believe, and so does our Board of Commerce in Detroit, that tariff reductions should be made gradually. Meanwhile, it might be possible to give preference in the placing of defence orders to those areas which are affected, and at the same time to encourage new and expanding industries to locate there. And other forms of assistance should be explored to make the adjustment as painless as possible. Thus, no one is advocating a violent shock to the protected areas of our economy. But just as in the case of unprotected industries where competition brings about shifts from less to more profitable lines of business, so industries now insulated from competitive stimulus must also be prepared to move from less to more productive operations. There is nothing new or unusual in this. The adjustability of the American economy, and, indeed, of the Canadian economy also, to changing conditions has always been the key to its progress. The final result has been incomparably greater productivity and a higher standard of living.

But it is not only the tariff rate that is discouraging to the foreign producer. It is also the uncertainty of American tariff policy. No European businessman can be expected to make long-term plans to win a part of the American market when it is clear his very success may cause retaliation by recourse to the "serious injury" provision of the Trade Agreements Act. This uncertainty, unfortunately, is also to be found in our customs procedures.

I am sure that you are all familiar with the difficulties of importers under present procedures, both in respect of classification and valuation. In fact, is is possible to import an article, pay duty, distribute it at a certain markup and then some time later—as a matter of fact two years later—be presented with a bill for supplementary duties. A later decision that the article was classified or valued incorrectly may wipe out all the profit and leave the importer in the red.

I would like to make one illustration. If I pull a packet of matches out of my pocket, and if this packet were plain, had no printing on it at all, it would be classified as matches. I say this can happen, and has happened. The minute I put printing on, it is not matches—it is printed matter. If I put a picture on it, it may be classified as a work of art and carry the highest duty. So if you were a match importer and brought in matches and some Collector of Customs admitted them as "matches", and if two years later you had a Treasury decision which says those were not matches, that they were works of art, they were admitted at 5% ad valorem and now they are 90%. So you see it is that antiquated idea of our Customs procedure that militates against the exporter on the other side, or even in Canada, building up a business and anticipating a good market in the States.

However, to an ever-increasing number of thinking Americans, these are reasons enough to warrant the most energetic action in the field of trade policy. But, there are others I think that are just as compelling. Important as the achievements of the European Recovery Programme have been, international economic stability still eludes both of our countries. Though the output of Western Europe is more than 40% above that of the prewar period, the convertibility of currencies is still in the future. And, the most important single nation in international trade, the United Kingdom, continues to suffer recurrent balance of payments difficulties. The central purpose of American foreign policy, at least up until today, is to build a community of nations strong enough to meet the Soviet threat. Though we have taken important steps to bring that community into being, it is clear, as our economist Sumner Slichter has recently pointed out, that we have yet to provide it with a solid economic foundation.

We know that the free world must have arms, it must have trained armies, and modern weapons. But it still will not be strong while economically it staggers along from crisis to crisis. It is evident that the economic difficulties of Western Europe were much more serious than we at first believed. We looked to a period of transition during which Marshall Aid would enable Western Europe to rebuild its shattered industry, restore its communications and increase its production to a level that would once again permit the free flow of international trade. But these great hopes have not been fulfilled. Nevertheless, that objective is not unrealistic. It can be achieved, I believe; for we are in a position, as Mr. Slichter goes on to point out, quite apart from free gifts, to give great help to the rest of the world by policies which will at the same time enhance our own economic welfare. If we follow enlightened trade policies, and our friends overseas follow monetary and fiscal policies appropriate to deficit countries, I believe we can together do the job.

Much of what I have had to say may seem critical and discouraging. But I certainly do not want to leave that impression. Many of you may know that on November 1, 1952, the Detroit Board of Commerce, on the recommendation of its World Affairs Committee, issued a Statement of Policy on United States Foreign Trade. At the outset we modestly ordered 8,000 copies from the printer; but, so great was the demand that at the present time 250,000 copies are in print, and to our great surprise that Statement has made news throughout the world. National newspapers have commented on it editorially, a flood of letters has reached the offices of the Board of Commerce from all over the country and from persons in all walks of life. There are over 4,000 letters, as a matter of fact, and only one unfavourable, in the group, and that happened to be from a raw hide manufacturer in Chicago who was complaining about one in Windsor, Ontario. These letters have come from heads of companies—I need only mention Elgin Watch, the Parker Pen—those are two among many that have written—Trade Union leaders, and many many from this vast group that we call consumers—from newspaper editors, from economists, from teachers.

Here is dramatic evidence that wide public support exists for a realistic economic policy. Indeed, as someone put it recently, the meaning of world trade is catching on. The man in the street is coming to see that the free world can be strong only if it is economically strong. There is a tough fight ahead, because international traders have never been as effectively organized as those who would for one reason or another limit the free play of competition. But I believe that situation is now changing. We have found voice and the public has responded decisively. For, gentlemen, in these times it has become clear that no single firm or industry can take precedence over the national interest.

Today, our future is founded on the strength of the free world. Hence, the prime test of an economic policy must be its contribution to the power of that alliance. The free world I believe cannot be strong while its components barricade themselves against each other's goods. Yet, if these economic compartments are to be broken, we in North America must give spectacular and decisive leadership. The magnitude of our economies, their great resources, their high productivity and rapid technical progress together create a basic tendency towards imbalance in world trade. Though the world catches up in this or that field, our industries develop ever more new or improved products to tempt the overseas consumer. And even when other countries share the pioneering work, as is the case in the jet engine or atomic energy, it is the technology on this side of the Atlantic that puts them into mass production. Thus, the shortage of dollars, as I see it, is likely to be persistent, inasmuch as it is basically due to our growing superiority in the production of many or even most of the goods essential to economic development or a high standard of living.

I do not wish to indulge in any emotional binge but a conversation that I had recently with General Grunther, comes continually to my mind. "The problem of defence in Europe", said General Grunther, "is becoming more and more an economic problem. We urge our allies to devote an increasing portion of their limited resources to military needs. We insist that their economy carry greater burdens and consequently greater political risks. But their answer is always the same and their logic is irrefutable."

How can we add a defence program to our strained economy, unless we increase our resources by trading in new markets? The Chief of Staff in Europe can not give the answer, but I believe that we in America can, for the answer is in our hands, yours and mine: We must then prove, it seems to me, that business can give bold and courageous leadership. We must in these perilous days see to it that measures are enacted suitable to the economic facts of our time.

In this situation, gentlemen, there is no room for half measures. They simply will not do the job. The world can only earn the dollars necessary to maintain international trade at a high level if we practice the free competition that we preach, and that includes competition between domestic and foreign goods. Leaders in both our countries have shown themselves to be cognizant of the realities of this issue. President Eisenhower has not failed in his inauguration address to define our position. "No free people", he said, "can for long cling to any privilege or enjoy any safety in economic solitude . . . We shall strive to foster everywhere, and to practice ourselves, policies that encourage productivity and profitable trade."

On a similar plane are these words of your Mr. C. D. Howe. "Our two main objectives from this time forward are: first, to bring about a further expansion of trade; and second, to get rid of the restrictions that prevent the free world from making the most effective use of the resources available to it."

From such heartening thoughts as these, our two great nations and indeed the entire free world may take courage. Therein, gentlemen, lies the road to a truly enlightened economic policy. On that road, I again suggest the United States and Canada must lead the way.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. George Marshall, President of the National Cash Register Company of Canada, Ltd.

"THE WORLD BANK, CANADA, AND THE COMMONWEALTH"

An Address by

EUGENE R. BLACK

President, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development

Thursday, April 9th, 1953

CHAIRMAN: The President, Mr. John W. Griffin.

MR. GRIFFIN: Members and guests of The Empire Club of Canada: The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, popularly known as the World Bank, is an organization operating under a Charter subscribed to by its 54 member Governments. The principal purposes of the Bank are to assist in the reconstruction and development of its member countries; to promote private foreign investment by guarantees of loans; and when private capital is not available on reasonable terms to make loans out of its own resources. Up to the middle of March of this year seventy-seven loans amounting to Fifteen Hundred Million dollars had been made to countries in every quarter of the Globe. The Bank does not lend its money, which is the money of the members themselves, to a member without a thorough investigation of all the factors involved. The principal factors are the economic and financial condition of the country concerned, the technical feasibility of the project for which the money is wanted, the ability of the borrower to complete, operate and manage the project and the value of the particular project in relation to the needs of the country concerned. The total subscribed capital of the

Bank is over Nine Billion dollars of which twenty percent is paid in and the remaining eighty percent is available for the Bank to call on when necessary.

The leadership of this great international organization is in the hands of Mr. Eugene R. Black, our speaker of today. Born and educated in Atlanta, Georgia, Mr. Black comes of a banking family. Following service with the United States Navy during the first World War Mr. Black joined the Atlanta staff of a firm of New York investment bankers. He later became associated with Chase National Bank of New York City and at the time of his appointment as President of the World Bank in July, 1949 he was Senior Vice President of that famous bank.

MR. BLACK: I was very glad to receive the invitation which brings me here today to speak to the Empire Club of Canada. The relationships between the World Bank and Canada—its Government and members of its business community—have always been cordial, and have become increasingly close in the past two years. I would like, among other things, to tell you something of those relationships this afternoon.

It is a particulary welcome privilege, I may say, to talk to a group with sympathies and interests which reach to that international society of nations we now call the Commonwealth. Views of the Commonwealth differ, I know, even among its constituents. I remember the Prime Minister of New Zealand saying in that typically direct way of his, "They can talk all they want to about the Commonwealth of Nations—but as for me, I'm still an Empire man."

However that may be, the Commonwealth is certainly the most important example of international cooperation in existence. It is many things: a free association of free nations, a school in statehood for peoples progressing toward independence, and in any case, a source of strength and wisdom in the free world. The Bank's affairs and those of the Commonwealth are intertwined at many points; and this, too, I would like to talk with you about this afternoon.

The Bank itself is an international society—a co-operative financial institution of 54 member countries. Our business is to make loans which will benefit our membership and which will be repaid.

Our funds come from our member countries, through their subscriptions to our capital stock and through the sale of our bonds in their capital markets. Our capital may be invested only in the territory of members, through loans either to governments or to other entities with governmental guarantees.

The first business of our Bank was to make loans for the reconstruction of Europe. That we did in 1947, at a time when Canada had already begun her extensive aid program, but in advance of the European Recovery Program itself. To France, the Netherlands, Denmark and Luxembourg, we made four loans which totaled half a billion dollars. (Let me remark parenthetically that nearly all the money amounts I am using are expressed in American dollars; they will be smaller in Canadian dollars, in view of the current Canadian premium.)

Since 1947, the Bank has been lending especially for projects which will help the less developed countries of the world to develop their physical resources. Our aim has been three-fold: to increase the production of useful goods; to promote better balanced world trade; and to raise the standard of living in our member countries. In this second phase of our activity, we have lent something over a billion dollars.

It will come as no surprise to Canadians, I think, to learn that wherever we have gone, we have found that basic utilities must be provided as the backbone for economic growth. Fully $400 million of our investment in development has been devoted to electric power. Two hundred million or so has gone to transportation: railways, roads and ports. The third major field of our lending has been agriculture; we have lent over $150 million for irrigation schemes, for projects to clear and rehabilitate land, and for farm equipment. Our investment in industry and mining has been nearly as much; and finally we have lent nearly $100 million for general programs of development embracing most or all of these different fields of activity.

Let me pause for a moment to emphasize two things. The first is that the Bank does not compete with private investment and private enterprise; its purpose is to encourage and supplement them whenever possible. Let me give you an example. As you know, the Brazilian Traction, Light and Power Company is a Canadian company. It is the largest supplier of electric power in Brazil, and the principal supplier for the rapidly growing industrial area around Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro.

In 1947, the Company began an expansion program which required more capital than it could obtain from the Canadian and American markets. In 1950 and 1951, the Bank made two loans, totaling $90 million, to Brazilian Traction. The expansion program is now well advanced, and the Bank is happy to have done something to help the continued progress of a company whose affairs not only concern its stockholders but are of first-rate importance for the whole economic future of Brazil. (I may add that the Chairman of the Company, Mr. Henry Borden, and I have confounded Shakespeare: while he is a borrower and I am a lender, we are the best of friends.)

The second thing I would like to stress is that the Bank itself is a business institution. I am not going to take your time to tell you about the careful procedures by which the Bank assesses loan proposals and follows through to completion the projects it is financing. Let me just say this: we have received all our payments of interest and principal as due, and we have accumulated reserves which now amount to over $100 million.

Among the 54 members of the Bank, Canada is geographically the biggest and, from an industrial and financial point of view, one of the most important. When the Bank's charter was written in 1944, it was clear that our members would have different sorts of interest in the activities of the Bank. Some members obviously expected to be borrowers. Others were willing to assume the position of creditors and, through this new institution, to provide the funds and capital goods necessary to achieve objectives in which they believed.

From the first, Canada was obviously in the creditor class, and from the first, was able to export capital goods for projects financed by Bank loans. Under our loans, some 70 million dollars' worth of Canadian products have been exported to 15 of the Bank's member countries. Let me mention major items only: $27 million worth of electric power equipment to Brazil; $19 million worth of railway equipment to India; $9 million worth of transport equipment and petroleum products to France; $4 million worth of locomotives and agricultural machinery to Australia; $3 million worth of lumber and wood products to the Netherlands; $3 million worth of power equipment to Mexico; and $1 million of railway stock to the Union of South Africa. While most of these exports were paid for by dollars obtained in the United States, a third of them were financed through the Bank, by Canada herself.

When Canada joined the Bank, she subscribed to stock with a par value of 325 million U.S. dollars. Under our charter, she was not required to pay in 80% of this amount, but assumed a liability for that 80%, should we ever need to call on it in order to pay off our bonds or meet obligations arising from our guarantees. She *was* required to pay in 2% of her subscription—some 6½ million dollars—*in* gold or U.S. dollars. The remaining 18% of her subscription was payable in her own currency, and amounted to 58½ million dollars. This amount was credited to our account, but under our charter, we were not entitled to lend it without the specific permission of the Canadian Government.

Canada was one of the first member countries to make a substantial amount of its currency available for Bank lending. Its first release, amounting to $8 million, was made in December 1948, and was devoted entirely to equipment for the Brazilian Traction Company. Later releases, in March 1950 and in May 1951, brought the total of releases to $18 million, and the entire balance of the original 18%, amounting to $40½ million, was released to us last May.

In the meantime, as most of you know, the Bank had received permission from Ottawa to enter Canada's capital market. In February 1952, after more than a year of planning and discussion, a group of Canadian investment houses made a public offering of 15 million dollars of our bonds, carrying interest of 4% and maturing in 1962; and the issue was taken up quickly and completely.

In all, we have had from subscription or borrowing, over 73 million Canadian dollars; and aside from the United States, Canada is the only country to put the whole of her original domestic-currency subscription at the disposal of the Bank.

When the Bank began operations in 1946, it was apparent that in contrast to Canada most other Commonwealth countries, for the time being, would not be able to export capital and capital goods for the purpose of Bank loans. That position has been modified. The United Kingdom has let us have $10½ million worth of pounds, and has now agreed, that as suitable projects arise in the Commonwealth, we may have the use of $168 million more from her sterling subscription over a period of six years or so. In May 1951, we were able to sell a $14 million issue of sterling bonds in the London market, and a part of that issue was taken up in Australia. More recently, the Union of South Africa has released to us $2.8 million worth of her currency for our loan to Southern Rhodesia.

Nevertheless, the fundamental position of most of the Commonwealth members of the Bank is that of borrowers. And as this audience well knows, one of the chronic problems of the sterling countries of the Commonwealth is how to obtain enough dollars, especially to pay for imports from Canada because of the large proportion of her exports that goes to the sterling area.

In its own lending, the Bank has provided dollars to the sterling area on a modest but useful scale. Our first loan to a Commonwealth country was made to India in August 1949. From that time forward we have lent $370 million in the Commonwealth. This constitutes more than one-third of all our lending for development, and averages out to slightly more than 100 million dollars a year.

For the most part, we have been directly financing imports from the dollar area. The Indian loan I have mentioned, for instance, was used to pay for railway equipment from Canada and the United States. For most of its borrowers in the Commonwealth, the Bank has been significant chiefly as a channel through which they have obtained dollar capital and dollar goods.

In some cases, however, Bank lending has had the effect of supporting the United Kingdom in its traditional role as banker and a principal source of investment and imported goods for the rest of the Commonwealth. Since the war, the London market has not always been able to provide sufficient investment to finance desirable development in the Commonwealth. The United Kingdom's support for that development, moreover, has involved a dollar cost. To provide the necessary goods, British industry has had to import and process raw materials from Canada and other countries of the dollar area. Also, British industry has had to forego other exports which might have earned dollars.

Under these circumstances, the Bank has found it possible to supplement the capital normally provided by the London market, and to do it with dollars. This we have done in our two loans to the Union of South Africa and our single loans to Southern and Northern Rhodesia. In each of these cases, we have lent dollars for purchases in the sterling area. We have thereby added to the Bank of England's holdings of dollars, and to the availability of that currency for imports into the sterling area from the dollar world.

In short, our lending in the Commonwealth has from the beginning done something to narrow the dollar gap, and has benefited countries situated on opposite sides of that gap.

If that were the only effect of our loans, they would be of some value. But the World Bank is in the business of long-term investment. We obviously have not been conducting our operations in the Commonwealth to furnish a mere palliative to dollar anemia. In our lending to the Commonwealth, we have from the first concerned ourselves with projects to aid production; and this production should accomplish durable improvement in the balance of payments of the sterling area.

Six Commonwealth countries have borrowed from the Bank—the independent nations of Australia, India, Pakistan and the Union of South Africa, the self-governing United Kingdom colony of Southern Rhodesia and the colony of Northern Rhodesia. I will, if I may, take the last three countries first, because there are certain similarities that make it convenient to discuss them together.

South Africa and the two Rhodesias have all, since the war, developed very rapidly. In all three, the rate of investment in some recent years has been as high or even higher than you are experiencing here in Canada—more than 20 per cent of national income in South Africa, over 30 per cent in the Rhodesias. The needs of development, as I have indicated, have to some extent outrun the capacity of the United Kingdom to provide capital, and the Bank's loans have provided supplemental investment.

The demands of new industry and growing agriculture have also outrun basic facilities—especially electric power and transportation—and it is to these objects that the Bank has directed its lending. We have lent $30 million in the Union of South Africa for power development and $20 million to improve rail and other transportation. We have lent $28 million in Southern Rhodesia for a comprehensive program to increase the supply of electric power, and $14 million in Northern Rhodesia for the improvement and extension of railways serving both the Rhodesias.

Our primary purpose, in each of these countries, was to support a rising level of useful economic activity. But we also believed that more production in the Union and the Rhodesias would bring benefits to the sterling area as a whole; in some cases, through the production of things that otherwise would have to be imported into the sterling area for dollars, in others through increased exports to the dollar world. Southern Rhodesia, for instance, already has large supplies of chrome ore that cannot be exported, simply because the railways are unable to carry them. The improved transport of coal from Southern to Northern Rhodesia should measurably increase the smelting and export of copper. More adequate supplies of electric power in South Africa will aid gold production, and better transport should facilitate exports of other minerals such as manganese and chrome. And while the Union stands in a special relationship to the sterling area, part of her dollar earnings habitually go to London to cover her normal deficit in sterling.

In Australia, we have made two loans totaling $150 million. Like the countries I have just been talking about, Australia is developing rapidly, and she is already highly industrialized. The war years, however, brought serious dislocations in the Australian economy. The disruption of international trade during and after the war made it necessary to postpone basic capital improvements, and at the same time made it feasible for Australians to establish secondary industries to produce things that normally would have been imported. Given tariff protection, these industries not only survived but attracted an abnormal amount of investment and manpower.

The result was that basic production lagged badly. There was a great increase in the output of many consumer goods, but none or virtually none over pre-war levels in the production of wool, wheat, meat, coal, steel and minerals. At the same time, a program bringing tens of thousands of immigrants from the United Kingdom and other countries of Europe put an added strain on the economy. By 1950, the further development of basic Australian industries was hobbled by shortages of coal, electric power and transportation. The surplus of agricultural products which had helped Australia pay for her imports was being reduced under the weight of her rapidly growing population; and Australia's value as an asset in the economy of the sterling area was declining.

Australian industries and Australian public authorities had already prepared or begun projects to remedy this situation. What was needed in nearly every sector of the

Australian economy, however, were critical items of equipment that had to be purchased with dollars. Most of the tractors needed for farm production, for instance, could be obtained in the United Kingdom; but the Australians still needed certain tractors and other specialized agricultural equipment which was manufactured only in Canada or the United States.

The Bank's first loan, signed in 1950 and amounting to $100 million, was made to finance the import of critical dollar items necessary to complete projects in agriculture, mining, metallurgy, electric power, transportation and industry. A second loan made in 1951 and amounting to $50 million, is serving much the same purpose.

Some results of our lending, I may say, are already visible. Where there was a coal shortage two years ago, there is now an exportable surplus. In the state of Queensland, thanks in part to Canadian and American tractors, the production of wheat and grain sorghum has already reached levels which the Australians did not expect to attain for another 5 years. The present determination of Australians and their public authorities to emphasize basic production can only have good results, I think, for Australia and for the Commonwealth as a whole.

In Asia, the two Commonwealth countries which have borrowed from the Bank are Pakistan and India. Here we come to new and different problems. The population of all the countries I have mentioned up to now is less than 25 million, but in Pakistan it is 75 million and in India it is 400 million. Natural resources that in other countries might be considered bountiful are, in relation to the population, not over-generous. While Pakistan normally is able to feed herself, a bad growing season such as she has had in each of the past two years can quickly make her a food deficit country; and India is often in deficit. The means to develop resources is limited. The rate of internal investment is low and investment from abroad, since the war, has been meager.

In these circumstances, it has been particularly necessary for the Bank to select projects which might most quickly have the most beneficial result. Our first financing in India, as I have mentioned, was a $33 million loan for the improvement of railway transportation. It was made in August of 1949, and within a relatively few months Canadian and American locomotives had helped to shatter bottlenecks which were choking the flow of both internal and external trade. Our first loan to Pakistan, made in March of 1952, was for a similar purpose; that loan, incidentally, consisted of 15 million dollars and 12 million dollars' worth of French francs.

In both countries, we have given a hand in large-scale projects to increase agricultural production. A tractor loan of $2½ million is helping to clear 600,000 acres of land for wheat and cash crops in Pakistan. A tractor loan of $7½ million is helping to clear something over 2 million acres for growing wheat and other food crops in central India, ultimately on a scale of about a million tons a year.

Two other loans we have made in India, totaling $37.5 million, are helping to finance irrigation, flood control and power development in the Damodar Valley, west of Calcutta. One result should be to add another 400,000 tons of food to Indian production. Power projects we are helping to finance will support the further growth of the widely diversified industries that already have taken root there. Finally, the Bank has lent $31½ million to the Indian Iron and Steel Company for a substantial expansion of iron and steel production in the Valley. Altogether, our lending should help India, through increased production of food, iron and steel, to accomplish direct import savings worth more than $100 million a year; and this, too, should benefit the sterling area Commonwealth as a whole.

While I would like to tell you about the operations of the Bank in other countries and other areas, I see that my time is growing short. Let me end by making some general observations about the Bank's work in the field of economic development and the significance of Canada's participation in it.

If the world consisted of 60 or 70 nations like Canada, there would be no necessity for a World Bank. You have an enormously productive economy here, a skill and a confidence that inspires you to invest in your own future, a way of doing things that has attracted large amounts of capital from outside. The way in which you have developed your country provides a model which the rest of the world might observe to its own benefit.

Unfortunately, however, we are living on a globe where poverty and ignorance are the rule rather than the exception, where perhaps two human beings out of every three are just beginning to glimpse modern methods of production, modern science and modern medicine. The condition of these people is not the only reason, but it is one important reason, why our world is so deeply disturbed today, and why it offers such a tempting target to aggressors.

It is one reason why Canada has joined other nations to erect international military systems for common defense. But if we are to get at root causes, there must also be international cooperation in the fields of economics and finance. Canada has already given this cooperation with her own loans in Europe, and with the fund she is wisely making available to the Commonwealth countries of south Asia under the Colombo Plan.

Canada is also a vigorous partner in the World Bank. The task in which the Bank is engaged is a formidable one. Improvements in standards of living and ways of life cannot be achieved overnight. Yet the possibilities and opportunities, opened up by modern technology in this century, are greater than they have ever been before. The Bank can do much to help its member nations realize these opportunities. It can do much to help them achieve a decency and dignity in the conditions of life which are requisites to a peaceful and stable world. That is the central objective of our work, and from their participation in it, I think Canadians can take pride.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. H. R. Jackman.

"MORE INTERNATIONAL BRIDGES"

An Address by

GEORGE KEITH FUNSTON,
President, New York Stock Exchange, New York

Thursday, April 16th, 1953

CHAIRMAN: The President, Mr. John W. Griffin.

MR. GRIFFIN: Members and guests of The Empire Club of Canada: On the 17th day of May in the year of Our Lord 1792 a group of New York merchants came to the decision to meet daily thereafter at regular hours to buy and sell securities beneath an old buttonwood tree in Wall Street. What they established was, in effect, a trading post, little different in practice from the trading posts which the Honourable Company operated in Rupert's Land at that very moment. The old buttonwood tree is gone and in its place stands the New York Stock Exchange which last year traded over half a billion shares with a value of more than fourteen billions of dollars. Between these two poles lies the story of the exploration and development of a great nation whose industrial capacity is one of the wonders of the world. The President of this great trading post is a young man of forty three—our speaker of today. George Keith Funston was born in Iowa, received his early education in South Dakota, his undergraduate schooling in Connecticut, his career training in Massachusetts, served his country in the District of Columbia and has achieved his greatest success in the State of New York. He got around. Mr.

Funston was graduated with honours from Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut in 1932 and cum laude from the Harvard School of Business Administration in 1934. In 1941, following several years experience as a senior executive in American Industry, he was appointed special assistant to Donald M. Nelson, the Chairman of the War Production Board. In 1944 at the age of thirty-three he became President of his Alma Mater, Trinity College in Hartford. Seven years later he resigned his post at Trinity along with Directorships in seven of America's greatest corporations and set up shop under the old buttonwood tree. At the age of forty-one he was President of that mighty trading post, the New York Stock Exchange. Mr. Funston is a Trustee of Trinity College and of a number of leading philanthropic institutions, a Vestryman of the famous Trinity Church in New York City and for the current year he is general chairman of the Greater New York Fund Campaign. Mr. Funston was in Toronto a few months ago at the time of the centenary of the Toronto Stock Exchange, which in its own way isn't doing too badly either. It is a pleasure to present him to a Toronto audience again.

MR. FUNSTON: It is a very real privilege to talk before the Empire Club. I am greatly honored to be here. Just a short while ago it was my pleasure to visit Toronto in connection with the celebration of the 100th anniversary of your Stock Exchange. At that time I met many of your financial and business leaders who gave me a taste of Canadian hospitality. Revisiting Toronto is thus an enjoyable and stimulating experience.

I'd like to talk over with you some problems concerning the employment of capital in national and international channels—employment in such a manner as to secure the greatest benefit for each country and for each individual concerned.

Such benefits, of course, are social and political as well as economic—if, indeed, the three areas can be separated. These are problems which are not indigenous to Canada or to the United States. They are global in scope and upon their successful solution hinges the economic health and political sanity of the whole world.

It seems to me that our countries have come closer to a workable solution of the investment problem than any other nations—certainly than any other team of nations. Each country has been fortunate in having been endowed with bountiful natural resources. But there are other factors which are even more important—an intense love of freedom and the will to fight to preserve our freedom, the imagination of peoples who have the courage and daring to risk in the hope of gain, the faith of peoples who believe in their own future.

I don't mean to imply that our two countries already have established political and economic utopias and that now we can afford to sit back and let nature take its course. I do say that we have established a sound working relationship which can still be greatly improved—but which even now we may commend to the rest of the world for its information and benefit.

Canada seems to be telescoping into a handful of years what it took the United States decades to accomplish: you are building a great manufacturing plant to complement your achievements as an agricultural nation, as a trading nation, and as a producer and processor of raw materials.

The success of your efforts has been—to put it mildly—sensational. And not the least extraordinary phase of your rapid growth is the financial solidity on which it is based. The United States today has an investment surplus—we have been an exporter of capital for some thirty-odd years—but it took a century of growth to reach that position. I was really astonished, in all frankness, to learn that Canada, while consuming huge amounts of money in the post-war growth period, has also been in several recent years an exporter of capital.

Just as astonishing to me is the relatively small contribution which foreign capital has made to your post-war growth. While United States investors, individual and corporate, have been privileged to put to work a substantial amount of money in Canada, most of your expansion has been financed by capital created by your own efforts. The United States has not been exactly an economic laggard in recent years but you have outdistanced us in the percentage of your national product which you have reinvested for the creation of new wealth.

While the amount of United States capital employed in Canada is small in relation to your own investments, the total nevertheless is large and increasing. At the end of 1951 total foreign investments in your country were $9½ billions; of this United States investors supplied $7¼ billions.

In 1951 Canadian companies paid out to United States share owners $284 millions in dividends; in the past ten years those dividend payments have added up to almost $2 billion.

These figures have much more than a mere dollar-and-cents significance. We are allowed by you to invest in Canada, to share in your future, just about as easily as I might drive across the International Bridge. And the Canadian investor who wants to own a share in a United States company can invest his money with the same ease that he can buy a share of a Canadian enterprise.

This flow of capital, I need hardly say, is not all from South to North. As I have already pointed out, the interest of United States investors in Canada's spectacular growth is intense--but the per capita Canadian investment in the United States is larger than the per capita United States investment in Canada and has been larger for some time. The latest available figures showed that, on average, each Canadian citizen had a per capita United States investment of $84 while every United States citizen had a Canadian investment of $39.

Surely here is a magnificent example of international trust, respect and confidence. I hope that relationship flourishes for as long as our two countries have a common border.

Does anybody consider this unimpeded flow of capital an encroachment on the sovereign rights of the United States or Canada? I think not. Rather, it is an economic pattern which I suspect some day will prevail among all civilized countries, once they learn that political freedom and economic freedom walk hand in hand. It is a pattern symbolized by the International Bridge connecting our two countries across the St. Lawrence. Eventually many such international bridges—bridges to accommodate the free flow of private capital—will stretch from Canada and the United States across the seven seas to Europe, Africa, South America, the Near and Far Easts.

Whether the investment is national or international, the core of the investment process is the securities market. On stock exchanges in Toronto, Montreal, New York, London, Tokyo, minute by minute and day by day, the immediate worth of hundreds of billions of dollars of corporate property is constantly and publicly measured. It is in such markets that the seller of securities can always find a buyer, the buyer can always find a seller.

Securities exchanges are not mechanical devices imposed upon an economy at the whim of a group of brokers. They are an integral part of the capitalistic system without which that economy cannot function.

In the words of John B. Braithwaite, Chairman of the London Stock Exchange, who visited the Toronto Stock Exchange last Fall, "The Stock Exchanges of the world are the ball-bearings upon which the wheels of industry and finance revolve."

The roots of the New York Stock Exchange go back to the days when an infant nation was struggling to its feet. One of the first acts of George Washington's government was to consolidate the national debt, which amounted then to a staggering $80 millions. People were willing to buy the bonds of the new government—but, at the same time, they wanted some means of quickly exchanging those securities for cash. The New York Stock Exchange was developed to meet this need.

One hundred and sixty years later our Exchange—like its Toronto counterpart—exists for exactly the same reason. The investor in the United States or Canada is willing today to put his savings to work in industry mainly because of the existence of our national market places. He knows that he can sell his shares at a fair price five minutes after he has bought them.

The value of stock exchanges is not limited to their immediate and direct importance as market places. A capitalistic economy will stagnate unless great sums of money are constantly pumped through the system—money for growth, for the development of new products, new industries. And without a healthy securities market the raising of new funds by equity financing is all but impossible.

An unhealthy market for securities is rightly regarded by businessmen everywhere as a danger signal, a signal that the complex mechanism of the economy needs inspection and perhaps repair. For it is the stock exchange which provides the machinery to spread the ownership of industry throughout our lands.

And it is on our exchanges that the close mesh between the economic interests of our two countries is clearly expressed. On our market place are traded the shares of your mining, railway and distilling industries. On the Toronto Exchange you have United States chemical, shipbuilding, automotive and food shares, to mention only a few.

At a recent date United States issues listed on the Toronto Exchange had a market value of $7.6 billions, or 17.6 per cent of the market value of all the 1,012 issues listed here. The market value of all Canadian issues listed on the New York Stock Exchange totaled $2.2 billions.

Actually, and this may sound paradoxical, when an investor in my country buys a share in a United States industrial corporation, the chances are about one out of three that the company he selects is also engaged in a Canadian operation., In other words, out of the 800 or so industrial companies listed on the New York Stock Exchange, some 330 are an immediate part of the Canadian economy. And over 445 of those 800-odd companies, or 54 per cent, have investments somewhere outside of the United States, in Canada or the rest of the world.

It is no accident that capitalism flourishes in the United States and Canada to a degree unknown elsewhere in the world; for it is in our two countries that the importance of the freedom of capital to work where it pleases is understood and respected. Nor is it an accident that Canada and the United States present a solid ideological front to the menace of world communism. Each of us has a deep and abiding respect for the rights and sanctity of the individual, a concept which has flourished in our North American capitalistic society.

Our mobility of capital has produced a condition of daily life which is abhorrent to Russian theorists still obsessed with the outworn theory that capitalism inevitably produces a disenfranchised proletariat. In the United States we have some 6,500,000 people who have a direct ownership interest in publicly owned corporations and another 2,000,000 people who own shares only in privately held corporations.

I would like to see the number of owners in the United States doubled—and then doubled again and again until every family has an ownership interest in our productive wealth. That is my idea of a democratic capitalism.

Perhaps the best way to emphasize the need for spreading share ownership is to point out that our industries, just as yours, need billions of dollars to make further growth possible. We cannot depend, as we did decades ago, on the wealthy to supply these funds; in the United States, for example, 100,000 millionaires, if there were that fantastic number, could not buy our publicly owned businesses. Nor do we want our businesses to borrow themselves into oblivion. We know that we can rely only to a limited degree on the reinvested earnings of our prosperous corporations. The only answer, the answer on which the vitality of our productive capitalism depends, is a wider stream of equity capital, the constructive employment of the mass savings of our peoples.

I think you might be interested in a recent series of articles in the *London Economist*, a publication not given to airy dreaming. The first article, intriguingly titled "Corpse in the Capital Market" presented statistical evidence to support the argument that in England the private investor, as we used to know him, is dead—"crushed to death by high taxation and rising prices."

"In the next few years," the *Economist* said, "the plight of the market for risk capital must be expected to grow at once more serious and more obvious."

The writer said there appeared to be only one realistic answer, "unless indeed the capitalist system as it has been known is to wither and die . . . ."

"If private industry and the Stock Exchange are to revive," the article concluded, "they must devise between them new ways of inducing broader masses of the population to come down and play their part in Throgmorton Street."

That is England's problem, that is your problem, that is our problem—employment of the mass savings of the people.

The next *Economist* article, "Shares for Sale," was just as incisive in its observations.

"The City and the Stock Exchange," the writer said, "have sat uncomfortably on the defensive and have done nothing to explain to a wide public that the dearth of investment in risk capital is a major threat to Britain's industrial future—and hence to the nation's standard of life.

"If a new generation is to be induced to invest in industry, a programme of active publicity will be the first need. It will have to set men arguing over their pints, and women over their teacups, whether they are concerned with the disappearance of savings and the imminent disappearance of a dynamic industry in Britain. It must demonstrate that an active stock exchange is the indispensable pipeline through which savings must flow to secure the replenishment of industry."

I know there's no need for me to tell you of the work that D'Arcy Doherty, A. J. Trebilcock and Jack Rattray are doing here in Toronto on that score. Perhaps, however, you might be interested in a thumbnail sketch of what we are trying to do at the New York Stock Exchange to tell people about the risks and benefit of share ownership and to spread share ownership over as wide an area as possible.

Our basic policy revolves around this objective: Public ownership of the means of production. I'm sure I don't have to clarify that statement by saying that public ownership does not mean government ownership.

We have made good progress in recent years. In three recent post-war years, to illustrate, some 1,300,000 people became share owners for the first time. But our final goal is still far, far in the future.

Last year, to help us reach our objective, we undertook a number of studies and surveys to get fundamental information about our industry. The Brookings Institute Survey of Share Ownership in the United States was such a document, for it has filled a deep gap in our knowledge of the economy.

Only recently we finished a broad analysis of the efficiency of our operations in terms of Federal tax policy and securities regulations. In addition we have dissected our costs of operation, the prices we charge, our methods of selling. We have in progress the most intensive survey of our merchandising problems ever undertaken. We have tried to find out all we can about the people who own securities—and, above all, the people who don't own securities. This extensive search for facts to serve as the basis for action is grounded on the simple premise that we can't wait for the public to beat a path to our doors—we've got to tell them why it's to their advantage to see what investment offers them, and to point out how easy it is to become a shareowner.

Our stock exchanges, of course, have a concurrent responsibility to insure that the investor, whether he is a citizen of Canada or the United States, is given the most honest and efficient service possible. A striking example of international co-operation with this objective in mind was provided last year when our two governments acted in concert to protect investors against the so-called moose pasture salesman, the salesman whose main aim in life appears to be to sell worthless securities to the gullible.

It seems to me that even closer co-operation between our two countries is inevitable as the tide of growth surges here in the North. I have in mind such projects as the $63 million expansion programme of the Steel Company of Canada at Hamilton; Consolidated Mining's $60 million expansion at Trail; the $41 million development of Sherritt-Gordon Mines at Lynn Lake; the $200 million operation of Iron Ore Company of Canada on the Labrador-Quebec border; Canadian Chemical Company's $55 million petrochemical plant near Edmonton; the vast half a billion dollar power-aluminum project of Aluminum Company of Canada at Kitimat.

I mention the amount of money involved in each of these projects not only because the investments themselves are huge but also because they must fade away before the even larger investments which these projects will create. They are merely the start in a dynamic cycle of growth. In each of our countries today there are whole industries which were undreamed of a generation ago—television, antibiotics, third-dimension motion pictures, jet planes, atomic submarines, and synthetic fabrics. These are exciting words today. But how long will it be before they are part of the past, the page of progress having turned to make way for industries which have not yet been conceived.

From 1946 through 1952 inclusive, industry in the United States has spent $151 billions on new plant and equipment. This year it is estimated that $27 billions will be spent for this purpose.

A great part of the billions of dollars the industries of our two nations will need must come from individual investors. Obviously it is our obligation and responsibility to do everything possible to create a healthy investment atmosphere so that the needed sums will be forthcoming.

Our problem today is not only to improve our present way of doing business. We must fight, and fight desperately, to preserve the gains we have achieved. Our societies, our economies, are under constant and diabolically skillful attack from the totalitarian states; and even from misguided or misinformed groups within our own ranks.

You in Canada, we in the United States, and the other free nations of the world must do more than merely resist these attacks. We must be aggressive and carry the fight to the others. We must take the initiative at home and abroad.

One of the most important and pressing tasks before us is the restoration of private overseas investment to its traditional, its essential, position in world affairs.

Since World War II the United States has exported through governmental channels some $38 billions in the form of military and economic aid. In contrast private foreign investments during the same period totaled around $7.7 billions.

Canada's contribution to world recovery and mutual defense since the War amounts to around $2.5 billions. Canada's private investment abroad during these years comes to about one-quarter billion dollars.

These governmental grants and loans have been vital to world recovery but admittedly they were stop-gaps, not too much admired by the giver or by the receiver. It is high time, in my opinion, that government back out of the foreign investment scene and high time that the private investor step in.

But the private investor cannot be just tolerated—he must be invited and welcomed.

To encourage the international flow of private capital, three things are necessary, therefore.

First, governments of those nations seeking capital must take a fresh, hard look at such deterrents to investment as export or import quotas, limitation on remittance of profits, control of capital movements, multiple exchange rates, fear of nationalization or expropriation, special taxation of foreign enterprises, undeveloped banking facilities, inability to deal with responsible government officials, required local participation, discriminatory enforcement of tax laws, and requirements for the reinvestment of earnings.

It is encouraging to note from frequent references in the daily press that the governments of free nations are studying these questions intensely. It is to be hoped that some tangible results will soon follow.

I'd like to mention in passing an unfortunate example of international action which must be corrected. The General Assembly of the United Nations last December passed the so-called Nationalization Resolution by a vote of 36 to 4, with 20 abstensions. The Resolution purported to be a declaration aimed at asserting the sovereign rights of nations but at the same time speeding and safeguarding international investment. The Resolution recognized the right of a nation to nationalize its resources, then topped off this announcement of the obvious by strangely failing to mention prompt compensation in the event of expropriation.

Curiously, too, many capital-poor nations—nations which claim they are anxious to encourage foreign investment in their countries—joined the Soviet bloc in approving the Resolution. Only the United States, the Union of South Africa, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland opposed this travesty.

Among the nations who declined to vote yes or no was Canada—for reasons which I suppose were defensible but which, nevertheless, negated an opportunity to go down the line for private investment. I do believe, though, that the business communities of our two countries regret the damage that has been done by an international body to the revival of private international investment—and that we shall make clear our views to our representatives in the United Nations organization.

Second, our two governments and those of other capital exporting nations have their own job to do to facilitate the flow of capital. In the United States, for example, we must modify the capital gains tax and double taxation of dividends. We must work towards the elimination of international double taxation; extension of reciprocal tax treaties; the establishment of uniform securities legislation and reciprocal securities treaties.

Your own government has been a leader in this area—you do not have a capital gains tax and you have made a start toward the eventual elimination of double taxation of dividends, to mention two points. And I have reason to believe that our present administration in Washington is aware of the importance of private investment overseas and is actively studying ways and means of encouraging its flow.

President Eisenhower has named Lewis W. Douglas, our former Ambassador to Great Britain and at one time Chancellor of McGill University, to head a group to study our foreign economic policies with a view to recommending changes designed to strengthen the free world.

Thirdly, our stock exchanges, our industries, our business organizations, and our financial communities should establish closer working relations with each other to speed a return to normalcy in international finance. Stock exchanges and financial communities can do a great deal themselves to facilitate two-way international investment by developing more uniform methods, terminology and technical procedures for securities transactions to bridge the gaps of language and custom that exist between our countries and the rest of the world. For example, investors in the United States and Canada are accustomed to stock certificates in registered form and to receive their dividends, proxies, and other rights directly from the company, whereas in many foreign countries shares are transferred in the form of bearer certificates, with coupons which must be deposited for dividends or other benefits. North American stockholders expect full disclosure of the financial condition and results of operations of their companies. They also expect full voting rights. Many foreign concerns still have far to go to meet the standard which our North American stock exchanges have developed and which our investors expect as a matter of course. We must also work together to create a better public understanding of the function of free enterprise and the private investor.

I would like to see the investor of tomorrow offered the same international investment fare which he enjoyed before the Doctrine of State Control strangulated the arteries of trade, commerce and investment. The North American investor today has that freedom and range of choice—he can invest his funds in the industries of Canada or the United States with equal ease. But I would like to see traded on your Exchanges and mine the securities of enterprises in all the nations of the world—just so long as those nations welcome the flow of international capital and respect the rights of the investor.

But while we are holding up this bright future and striving towards its realization. we must continue to work together to improve even more the magnificent co-operative relationships and undertakings which Canada and the United States have already achieved. To such expanding business and financial co-operation with Canada, I pledge you the continuing interest and support of the New York Stock Exchange.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. D. H. Gibson, C.B.E.

"CANADA AND BRITAIN—THE INVISIBLE LINKS"

An Address by

JOHN ROGERS
Chairman, Imperial Chemical Industries Limited

Joint meeting with The Toronto Board of Trade

Thursday, April 23rd, 1953

CHAIRMAN: The President, Mr. John W. Griffin.

MR. GRIFFIN: Members and guests of The Toronto Board of Trade and The Empire Club of Canada: in 1914, when "the war to end wars" broke out, Great Britain had no domestic source for those essentials of war—nitrates and dyes. The four years' progress of that great struggle showed the tremendous need for the establishment of such industries in Britain. In 1939, when the Second World War began, the picture was a very different one—the British chemical industry was able to supply all the synthetic nitrogen required for the manufacture of explosives in Britain. It is thus obvious that the British chemical industry is relatively new so it is not surprising that Imperial Chemical Industries Limited was formed as recently as 1926 by the union of a number of well-established chemical firms. Today it is a world giant in this field and its one hundred and ten thousand employees, working in eleven manufacturing divisions, make twelve thousand products in over eighty factories in the British Isles. In 1946, following a tremendous contribution to the Allied war effort, it embarked on a £50 million expansion programme, designed to spread its knowledge and research facilities and products around the Empire and the World. An example close to home which is of particular interest to us is this: on April 1st, I.C.I. announced plans for the construction of a new plant near Kingston, Ontario, in which it will manufacture a synthetic fibre which is used in the making of clothing fabrics.

At the head of this tremendous enterprise is our speaker of today. Mr. John Rogers was born in Glasgow and began his career as a chemist with Nobel's Explosives Company in 1899. In 1908 he was appointed to the position of technical liason officer at Nobel's head office in Glasgow. When Imperial Chemical Industries Limited was formed in 1926, one of its constituent companies was Nobel Industries Limited. Mr. Rogers was made a Joint Technical Director, which position he held until 1940 when he was appointed a Deputy Chairman. In the early days of the war he was given the post of Deputy Director-General of Explosives and then Director-General and subsequently became Chairman of the Ammunition Board at the Ministry of Supply. When the War was in its final stages he returned to I.C.I. and took up his former duties. In December, 1950, he succeeded Lord McGowan to the position of Chairman of the Board of this great world-wide organization.

The chemical industry, so little known to the general public, is fundamental to almost every activity of contemporary man. We are honoured to have as our speaker one whose career covers the whole era of modern industrial chemistry and who crowns a lifetime of achievement with the highest post that his chosen field can offer.

MR. ROGERS: First, I wish to thank you for the great honour you do me at this time, and to say how much I appreciate it. When one considers the list of eminent people who have addressed this distinguished gathering in the past, the striking thing—to me at any rate—is the wide field that has been covered. Such a range of interests indicates, of course, the breadth of mind of your members and their determination to hear all sides of every subject.

To an ordinary, unassuming industrialist like myself, however, this is somewhat alarming. For I am no orator—or evangelist—and I am somewhat diffident as to my capacity to give you any useful message or information. God forbid that I should attempt to give you advice.

In the course of a long and reasonably sinful life I hope I may have acquired a little knowledge, together with a number of views and opinions of more or less doubtful value. However, you do not, I am sure, wish me to give you views of that kind about your own country. For my part, I shall be happier and on safer ground talking about Great Britain. Nevertheless, because of my interest—past and present—in Canada, I should like also to say something about possibilities which arise from the relations between our two countries.

Numerous attempts have been made by a great variety of people to explain how Great Britain achieved the important position which she has held for so many years in the industrial world. And—let me say—the position she *still* holds. Some kind friends, of course, saw our country in a state of rapid decline and were ready to read the burial service over us. Well—like father in the old song—we may be dead, but we won't lie down. In fact, I am prepared to maintain quite stubbornly that what Britain is suffering from is not old age but growing pains.

Doubtless a great many causes contributed to the process which our history books label 'the industrial revolution'. Personally, I prefer to over-simplify the process and to trace Great Britain's rise to a position of industrial leadership to one single fact which I learned about in school—the steam engine invented by James Watt and erected in Birmingham in the year 1788.

You may say there is nothing new about that idea—and I quite agree with you. But in the years during which I have travelled about England and Scotland—and even about the world—it has always fascinated me to trace back to Watt's steam engine so much of the development that I saw about me. The size and position and even the shape of some towns, the prosperity of the population, the means of transportation, the mechanical skills, the nation's trade—there is no end to the far-reaching effect of that legendary steaming kettle and rattling lid.

I am well aware that in these days of complex economic theorising such simple thoughts as I express may sound definitely old-fashioned. There is, however, a train of thought I would like to follow through to the present day—that is my excuse for going back about 150 years. Or, let's go back further to Archimedes. Since Archimedes, hardly any power assistance of a notable kind had been given to mankind until the steam engine was invented. With the aid of that steam engine and our mechanical skill, England, rich in coal and iron ore, soon became the workshop of the world.

We made and sold everything from pins to locomotives. We built steamships, established railways, developed countries, invested money in them and eventually reached the pinnacle in world trade upon which we sat rather smuggly. I have to confess, looking back, that the behaviour of our predecessors, although dignified, was not always distinguished by much beyond the making of money out of a new thing. Their foresight—in some directions—must have been rather weak or they would have seen how precarious was their perch on the pinnacle. However, I see no particular virtue in hindsight wisdom. We cannot afford ourselves to be too critical of the past. Even when the rate of industrial progress in the United States began to be clearly apparent, we seemed to believe that cheap labour maintained by exporting manufactured goods and importing food would render us invulnerable to American and other competition.

To the best of my knowledge the father of invention has managed to remain anonymous, but the mother is so well known as to be notorious. Necessity—mother of so much good and evil—drives all of us to deal with difficulties in some way or another according to the intelligence with which we have been blessed. The United States had to counter their high labour cost—it always has been a high labour-cost country—by using more and more machinery and labour-saving devices. While we, in Britain, concentrated on skills and quality, the United

States and other countries developed engineering methods and applied them to industry in their determination to become as self-supporting and independent as possible. Add to that state of affairs the nationalistic views held by most governments, coupled with the effect of the war upon individual countries and upon international relationships, and you begin to have the measure of what Great Britain is competing against today.

Concerning the British and their future—a great deal of talking and writing has been based upon the belief that, through economic theories, there is some easy and clever way to bring the country back to prosperity. This may be so, but I doubt it very much. I have always noticed that whenever a learned economist writes to 'The Times' to advance his pet theory, he is immediately followed by one of similar eminence who flatly contradicts him. There is an old saying which, to my mind, has not lost its significance—"Pay as you go, and if you can't pay, don't go".

In Great Britain we have, in my opinion, pursued and spent money upon things very praiseworthy in themselves, but not feasible in a nation which has had so many grievous losses. Perhaps, by way of excuse, we can plead that there is no precedent for the existing state of affairs. No such destruction and damage ever took place before, no such upsetting of national and international values. We like to believe we are able to deal with such conditions by putting on our thinking caps and producing what have been called 'brain-waves'. Not to be confused, of course, with 'brain-trusts'. Now in my view—and I have had many years in which to think about it—'brain-waves' are mostly the result of the mind sorting out precedents, very often unwittingly. Sometimes the 'brain-wave' is not unlike opportunity—something simple which is frequently missed because it goes around disguised as hard work. Of this I am convinced, without hard work there is no way of getting out of the sort of difficulties which we are up against in Great Britain. And, what is of equal importance, an appreciation of the real necessity for hard work.

Already there is evidence that we have proceeded quite a way along that road. I think you will agree that Mr. Butler's recent Budget reflects some of the progress we have made. I do not wish to speak as a politician or a party man, but in the last months changes have taken place in the outlook of a great many people. It is my conviction that if continued by all groups and parties, those changes must lead to conditions which will undoubtedly bring back—or should I say lead forward to —a greater measure of prosperity in our land. When I speak of groups, I should like to add this tribute. Personally, I recognize that the very statesmanlike attitude of our trades union leaders has gone a long way to bring to the people for whom they have responsibility an awakened appreciation of the need for effort. It was thought that, following our last change of Government, there would be more strikes and labour troubles. That has not been so because the trades unions will not allow their powers to be used for political or party purposes. They know their members must support prosperity in industry. Admittedly, through unwise behaviour on both sides, some quite troublesome unofficial strikes have taken place, but they have been few in number.

A word much used nowadays is 'productivity'. As applied to industry it does not, of course, necessarily mean much harder physical effort on the part of workers. The methods used are generally based upon making a better use of everything and everyone concerned in production. Those who sponsor the application of productivity methods know well that changes have to take place not only in the minds of operatives, but also in those of management. At home, now and then, we find in my opinion an undue emphasis on the methods used in the United States and an apparent belief that all we have to do is to copy them. Now, this is not the case. I know and understand the capacity of that great country to the south and the productivity of their industrial concerns, but it is necessary for us at home to remember the difference in conditions. By all means let us ascertain, by visits both ways, all that can be discovered regarding each other's methods of industrial production. But, we must be equally careful to study the different circumstances in which those methods are used.

Perhaps, in Britain, we seem slow, but we believe it pays to be steady and sure provided opportunities are not missed. We still have the determination to put things right. We do not wish to live in any way on loans or any form of financial aid. We wish to get business and we are equipping ourselves as fast as we can to that end. That end can be achieved only by providing the customer with what he wants at the right price. There is, of course, not the slightest objection on our part to other countries helping us by tariff alterations of a suitable kind—if they care to make them.

All who seek settled conditions of peace and prosperity within a free enterprise system must recognize the importance of the Commonwealth and the United States standing together. To do this successfully there must be an appreciation of each other's difficulties, and an understanding of each other's way of life. When opinions and views vary, as they must do from time to time, there should be the sort of friendship which makes possible frankness and helpfulness.

Canada, by its own desire, remains very close to the old country and, in view of its frontier with the United States, occupies an interesting position in the British Commonwealth. Sometimes I feel many of the people of Great Britain do not always appreciate how close you are to us. Certainly the war did much to enlighten them, but I think it would do some of my countrymen a lot of good if they were to come over here. Then they would experience what it has been my good fortune to know throughout a considerable number of years.

Your proximity to our American friends, with the easy coming and going across the border, has meant that the two countries have many things in common. In industry, business, transport—even in your sports—you speak much the same language. All this should mean that Canada, with its increasing development of natural and industrial resources, should as time goes on take a very important position with regard to the preservation of goodwill and cooperation between the United States and the Commonwealth. In fact, just as the war hastened Canada's progress industrially, so also did it increase Canada's stature and maturity in its relations with other countries. Thus we have lived to see the day when Canada takes a prominent part in what might be called "off-shore diplomacy"—advising and guiding the old country in its relations with the United States and vice-versa. In these remarks I am not forgetting the other members of the Commonwealth and their desires and efforts towards the same end. I am merely saying that Canada has an especially favourable position for efforts of this kind.

My experience of Canada began over forty years ago when I had the great privilege of living in your country for almost six months. Although some things have changed almost beyond belief since 1911, the time I spent here enabled me to ascertain quite a lot concerning Canadians, their industries and, to some extent, their politics. As most of us know—to our sorrow—many Britishers who visit another land for, say, two or three weeks, return full of knowledge and determination to spread their ideas throughout their homeland. On such a brief acquaintanceship they consider themselves entitled to pose as authorities on conditions in the country honoured by their presence for such a short period. Luckily my stay was long enough to teach me to keep clear of such behaviour.

Going back to 1911, I wonder how many of you remember the Reciprocity Election? I can clearly recall scenes in the St. James's Club, Montreal, at night when the results were declared. Men of usually staid disposition—and definitely stout build—danced on tables and generally acted as if a disaster had been averted. You, no doubt, could tell me what would happen today if such a reciprocity proposal were repeated and put to the vote. However that may be, you have managed through the years to build up your industries, to open up your resources and to become one of the world's great trading nations. And yet you are still a country of vast possibilities.

The developments which have taken place in all kinds of extractive industries have enabled you to become an important supplier to the United States and have caused capital to flow in from your next-door neighbour. Britain has not managed to keep step in recent years because of the difficulties well known to us all. But our Government at home has at least decided to allow capital to come this way so that such inventions and methods as may be known in Britain can be introduced to your country and developed here. Wherever possible, this should be done, I think, by Canadian companies with managements in Canada establishing their business for the benefit of Canada. I am sure this can be brought about to the mutual advantage of your country and mine if proper methods are employed. This is indeed the policy already adopted by various British companies looking towards Canada for investment and expansion. Speaking for the Company by which I have the honour to be employed, I can say positively there need be no fear that we shall do anything to try to get the cream off the top, leaving only skimmed milk. Naturally we shall expect that our friends here will not forget to help us to obtain the benefit of their inventions for Britain on reasonable terms.

I feel I cannot possibly fail to use this opportunity to speak of the part your country played in so many ways in the recent war. In 1914 I was Technical Manager of Nobel's Explosives, which company, as many of you know, later became part of Imperial Chemical Industries Limited and had a very considerable interest in what is now Canadian Industries Limited. During that earlier war I was, of course, aware of the efforts made by Canada and of their value. However, in the last war, the calls made upon industry for all kinds of products and in all sorts of spheres, were far greater than could have been contemplated in 1914—or for that matter even in 1939.

Between the wars, Canada had expanded in many ways, and it was clear to those of us who had been in touch with things from 1914 to 1918 that heavy demands would be made upon North America. From the beginning, Canada was at our side and the speed with which your industries extended and increased their output was a source of much encouragement in those dark days. This is a matter I speak of with some considerable knowledge because I was away from Imperial Chemical Industries during the whole of the war and was at one time a member of the Supply Council and Chairman of the Ammunition Board.

I have never liked people who use the excuse of age to say things which might be considered patronizing. However, I am older than most of you here today and, therefore, can claim more years spent gaining experience and sorting things out. So do not take what I am going to say now in the wrong spirit.

I want to confess that during the war I—and many others—watched with growing amazement the success with which Canada undertook immense new burdens and responsibilities during those six strenuous years of warfare. We were astonished at the extent to which your country, your scientists, your industrialists and your universities were able to do things on their own initiative and experience. Perhaps that does not sound very complimentary, but I would like you to consider it as praise of the highest order. I have in mind, speaking of industry and universities and research, not so much the volume produced as the many discoveries and improvements that were worked out and applied.

Despite the fact that I thought I knew something about this country and its people—because of once having lived here—I had failed to realize the immense progress Canada had made in the years between. I knew that this country had the ability and capacity to do great things—but their magnitude did rather take my breath away. In fact, I suspect that you were a little surprised yourself when the score was finally counted.

To my mind, however, while recognizing the urgency of your impressive war record, even more important in the long run are the vital qualities of the Canadian people behind that effort. I refer to such qualities as your energy, your stamina, your virility—to give them their respectable names.

In recent years, I have made several visits to Canada. Each time I come, I seem to hear of new possibilities in the realm of natural resources and new developments in industrial progress. I cannot admire too much the energy with which you tackle these vast projects and the sound judgment you display in your plans regarding them.

But what impresses me most is the spirit of adventure which is in the air and the courage with which new ventures are undertaken. 'Safety first' is an excellent traffic regulation and a good rule to follow to avoid accidents while at work. I do not need to remind you, however, that 'safety first' has never been a maxim that has inspired the leaders of any great nation or explorers, pioneers, scientists, merchants or other men of achievement.

This thought has perhaps never been better expressed than by Her Majesty the Queen in her Christmas message. I feel sure many of us were very much moved to hear such wisdom from one so young. No doubt you remember the occasion, but the words are so appropriate to what I have been saying that I hope you will not mind my repeating them. This is what the Queen said:

> "Many grave problems and difficulties confront us all, but with a new faith in the old and splendid beliefs given us by our forefathers, and the strength to venture beyond the safeties of the past, I know we shall be worthy of our duty. Above all, we must keep alive that courageous spirit of adventure that is the finest quality of youth."

It would not surprise me to learn that Canada, which she visited so recently, was in her thoughts when she used those words. For I am convinced that nowhere in the world today is there a people with a greater faith and a more courageous spirit of adventure than there is in Canada. The young man just beginning his career in this country is going to participate in a most remarkable period of national development. To see that he has the right tools for the job ahead of him is the duty of the older generation, and I firmly believe that, given the chance, Great Britain, through scientific research, technical knowledge and fine skills, can be of assistance in supplying those tools.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. Neil J. McKinnon.

ANNUAL MEETING

Thursday, April 30th, 1953

CHAIRMAN: The President, Mr. John W. Griffin.

PRESIDENT'S REPORT: Members of The Empire Club of Canada: It is my duty at this time to render a report on the year's proceedings and work, together with a brief (and interim) financial statement. The Club is in a reasonably sound financial position. The deficit of a year ago was made up by special contributions and the steadily increasing number of members has made it possible to keep expenses within the bounds of income. There are sufficient funds on deposit to pay for this year's Year Book without drawing on next year's receipts. Despite this happy state of affairs it is my firm conviction that our fees should be raised. A Club of the distinction and prestige of The Empire Club of Canada should have adequate reserves and more money to spend for current projects. While I am sure no Speakers' Committee of ours would ever want to make a practice of booking professional lecturers the fact remains that certain highly desirable speakers will only talk for a fee and the Committee ought to have some scope in such matters. I am told that we cannot raise our fees by, shall we say, unilateral action. I don't believe it. The success of this Club is based on the excellence of our speakers, the friendly spirit of our members, the fact that we observe the amenities in our procedure at meetings and the permanent worth of our Year Book. I cannot think that any member worth having would dispense with these things because the annual fee was raised fifty cents or a dollar. As Mr. Gibson said in his annual report a year ago it would be of great help if the members would make known their minds on this matter.

The success of any society such as ours depends on the efforts of a small band of ardent supporters who lavishly give their devotion, their skill and their time for no other reward than the satisfaction of seeing a job done well. It is awkward for the President to select names for special mention but, as always, the services of some members of the executive have been so outstanding that it would be base ingratitude to pass them by. (I see that we are on the air now but I am sure the radio audience will not mind if I continue this Annual Report of The Empire Club of Canada). Mr. Ernest Miles remains the indispensible man. To his meticulous performance of the Secretary's duties he adds a depth of interest and breadth of concern for all the Club's affairs that go far beyond what we have any right to expect. I want to go on record now with the statement that it should be one of the objectives of the new Executive to find ways and means of compensating Mr. Miles not adequately, for that is hopelessly beyond our means, but *less inadequately*.

Mr. Walter Comber, C.A., our Hon. Treasurer, not only performs the usual duties of that office but also handles the great amount of detail connected with the membership records of this large and growing Club. The fact that 15 Nominating Committees in a row have named him Hon. Treasurer speaks for itself. Mr. H. R. Jackman, 2nd Vice-President and Chairman of our Finance Committee, guided his committee in the preparation of an able and realistic budget which, I confess, we did not always follow. Once again we are grateful for the services of that grand Scots gentleman, Mr. H. T. Jamieson, F.C.A., our Hon. Auditor.

Mr. Harry Bourlier was always on hand to play the National Anthem. He has been doing this for the Club for a generation or more and I know I express the sentiments of every one when I say that I hope he does it for another generation. Mr. Ford Ralph and Dr. Clarence

Crummey never fail to look after our guests as they perform the work of the Reception Committee.

Mr. Sydney Fletcher has made a valuable contribution to the life of this Club by maintaining the very happy press relations he established two years ago. Mr. David Menzel, our Year Book Editor, has his job still ahead of him but there is no doubt that he will set a high standard for this important and enduring feature of Empire Club membership.

Our incoming President, Mr. Arthur Inwood, has performed prodigies of effort on behalf of this Club. As Chairman of the Head Table Committee his work is well-known to you. I doubt if such a galaxy of head table stars, week after week, meeting after meeting, has ever been assembled before in Toronto. Board Chairman after Board Chairman and President upon President of organizations and companies of national and world renown have graced our luncheons.

Mr. Inwood's work as Chairman of our Membership Committee is not so obvious but the fact is that during the twelve months ending today 370 new members were enrolled. Our present membership is 1733 and this represents the highest point in a great many years. The net increase over one year ago today is 216. One member of the membership Committee deserves special mention. Mr. Donald Jupp, O.B.E. sent out over 650 personal letters from his own office to prospective members.

I must express my official and personal thanks to the members of the Speakers' Committee—my own special charge. These were Mr. Arthur Inwood, Mr. Sydney Fletcher, Mr. James Joyce, Dr. Cecil Goldring, and Lieut.-Col. N. D. Hogg, M.B.E. To their efforts we owe the brilliant list of speakers the Club has heard this year. The presence at my right hand of such persons as Carlos Romulo, Canon Bryan Green, Sir Neil Ritchie, Clarence Randall, James Duncan, Louis St. Laurent and our guest of today has made this year a Chairman's dream and I am most grateful to the Speakers' Committee for the wonderful results they obtained.

During the year the Speakers' Committee was criticized for presenting so few speakers from the Old Land beyond the seas. I am glad to have this opportunity to tell you that every possible effort was made to secure commitments from the prominent Britons who have visited these shores. I think I can state quite truthfully that not a single eminent citizen of Great Britain who announced a trip to North America failed to receive our consideration. In most cases we sent an immediate cable of invitation. Our efforts went beyond this. Many purely speculative invitations were sent to the British Isles to men whose world-wide interests might bring them to Canada. Some of these letters will bear fruit, undoubtedly, in the year ahead.

An actual breakdown of our regular season's speakers reveals the following figures by countries of permanent residence:

from the Netherlands	1
from the Phillipines	1
from Great Britain	2
from the United States	6
from Canada	18

Since 20 out of 28 speakers have come from Great Britain and our own country I do not think we can be accused of deserting the object of this Club—"Canada and a United Empire".

During our regular season 28 meetings were held with the average attendance above 250. This figure is very gratifying but not large for a membership approaching 1800. Six meeting were held jointly with other organizations—two with the Canadian Club of Toronto, one with the Canadian Club of Toronto and The American Men's Club of Toronto together, two with Toronto Branch of the United Nations Association and one with the Toronto Board of Trade. It was a pleasure to cooperate with such splendid societies and I am grateful to them for their courtesy and help on these occasions.

Last but not least I express appreciation for the part played by our Past Presidents. I was continually impressed by the great interest which so many of my distinguished predecessors take in our affairs and it always gave me a warm and confident feeling to see a half dozen or more of them in the audience. Mr. H. G. Colebrook and Mr. Sydney Hermant have been towers of strength to me and I would never have accepted the office of President had I not felt sure of their sympathetic guidance. When the Club found itself embarrassed by a deficit of $1,000.00 from last year's operations I asked Mr. D. H. Gibson, C.B.E. and Mr. R. A. Stapells for help. Through their efforts and the generosity of a handful of great-hearted gentlemen this sum was obtained. To a young man the support and encouragement of such a distinguished trio of senior citizens as Mr. Gibson, Mr. Colebrook and Mr. Stapells will be perhaps the finest memory of a year whose every moment glitters with bright souvenirs.

I am also happy to express the thanks of the Club to the Royal York Hotel and particularly to Edward Hadley for the efficient and helpful service given us at our meetings.

Any feelings of relief I may have that today brings respite from the burdens of this Club are quite overwhelmed by my very genuine sorrow that this is the last time I shall stand before you as President. I have enjoyed every minute of the year and I have been deeply honoured by the opportunity to serve you. In his Annual Report of a few years ago Mr. Thos. Howse referred to "the dear old Empire Club". It is just that. There is no other organization quite like it. Indeed, my one regret is that I enjoyed this honour at too young an age—I have nothing left to look forward to. In his opening remarks on this platform Clarence Randall said, "Make no mistake about it: I know and everyone in the States knows that The Empire Club in Toronto is the top forum in Canada". Having been President of such an organization, what is there left?

MR. R. A. STAPELLS, Chairman of the Nominating Committee gave the following report:

MR. STAPELLS: Mr. Chairman and Members of The Empire Club of Canada: Your Nominating Committee met once and as a result of our deliberations we recommend the following gentlemen as officers and executive members for the 1953-54 season.

President: Arthur E. M. Inwood

Mr. Inwood, who holds an important executive position with Marsh & McLennan Limited, international insurance brokers, has spent his entire business life in the banking and insurance fields. He served several years overseas during the late war, was aboard the troopship Santa Elena when she was torpedoed in the Mediterranean and was Mentioned in Despatches for distinguished service with the Irish Regiment of Canada during its Italian Campaign. He has been a member of the executive of The Empire Club for some time and during the year that ends today he was Chairman of the Head Table Committee and Chairman of the Membership Committee.

1st Vice-President: James H. Joyce
2nd Vice-President: Lt. Col. N. D. Hogg, M.B.E.
3rd Vice-President: Dr. C. C. Goldring
Secretary: Ernest Miles
Honorary Treasurer: W. W. Comber, C.A.
Honorary Secretary: R. Ford Ralph
Assistant Secretary: Donald H. Jupp, O.B.E.
Honorary Auditor: H. T. Jamieson, F.C.A.

Members of the Executive Committee:

- H. C. Bourlier
- Russell W. Buyers
- Lt. Col. C. A. Corrigan, D.S.O., V.D.
- Dr. Clarence B. Crummey
- Donald M. Fleming, Q.C., M.P.
- S. S. Fletcher
- Warren B. Hastings

H. R. Jackman
J. Palmer Kent
H. R. Lawson
Bruce L. Legge
Donald F. McDonald
David G. C. Menzel
Harold Menzies
Col. W. H. Montague, O.B.E.
Z. S. Phimister
David J. Roche
A. G. Sculthorpe

Immediate Past President: John William Griffin

Past Presidents:
H. G. Colebrook
Sydney Hermant
D. H. Gibson, C.B.E.

I nominate these gentlemen for the offices named. Mr. Herb. Hambly has seconded these nominations.

MR. GRIFFIN: As the number of gentlemen just nominated does not exceed the number of officers and executive members permitted by the Constitution I instruct the Secretary to cast one ballot for the election of these gentlemen.

The Secretary has just handed me his ballot so I declare those nominated are elected as officers and members of the executive committee for 1953-54.

“ATOM AND EMPIRE”

An Address by

DR. O. M. SOLANDT, O.B.E.
Chairman, Defence Research Board, Ottawa, Ont.

Thursday, April 30th, 1953

CHAIRMAN: The President, Mr. John W. Griffin.

MR. GRIFFIN: My Lord Chief Justice, members and guests of The Empire Club of Canada: In August, 1945, the President of the United States ordered that an atomic bomb be dropped upon a Japanese city. By that fateful decision he launched the new and terrible atomic age. At that time our speaker of today, Col. O. M. Solandt, was Superintendent of the Canadian Army Operational Research Group. Following the cessation of hostilities in the Pacific theatre of war the War Office appointed him to the military mission which was sent to Japan to evaluate the effects of the atomic bomb.

Ormand McKillop Solandt, one of the most important men in Canada, is little known to the general public. He was born in Winnipeg in 1909 and received his secondary and undergraduate education in Toronto. His academic career has been one of extraordinary brilliance and among the many degrees he holds are those of Master of Arts from Cambridge University and Doctor of Medicine from the University of Toronto where he won the Gold Medal in 1936. He is a Member of the Royal College of Physicians and a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada. In 1941, following a period as Director of the South-West London Blood Supply Depot he was appointed Director of the Medical Research Council Physiological Laboratory at the Armoured Fighting Vehicle School in England. Here he became concerned in an important way with the twin problems of the design of military equipment and the physiological effects which that equipment has upon the men who operate it. Following the war he was made Chairman of the Defence Research Board and scientific member of the Chiefs of Staff Committee and as such holds a position of the very highest rank in Canada's military councils. In October of last year he was present at the United Kingdom's first atomic explosion test on the Monte Bello Islands off Australia. His brilliant career, his great experience and his high position entitle him to universal acclaim. However, the nature of his work and his own modest personality have denied him the plaudits of the crowd. While others take the bows Dr. Solandt gets on with the job. It is an honour and a privilege to present a man whose work makes such a large contribution to "Canada and a United Empire".

DR. SOLANDT: I think that the Empire Club of Toronto must be an exceptionally intelligent and discriminating audience. I have been asked by many organizations to address them once, by a few twice, but the Empire Club of Toronto is the only one that has asked me to speak three times. I usually speak about the work of the Defence Research Board but since you have tolerantly listened to two addresses on that subject I felt that you deserved a change of diet on this occasion.

I have just returned from a brief trip to India and Pakistan where I attended a meeting of the Commonwealth Advisory Committee on Defence Science. This visit, and an earlier one to Australia, have naturally turned my thoughts to the research and especially defence research that is going on throughout the Commonwealth. It therefore occurred to me that you might be interested in a brief report on what I saw in India and of the impressions that I gained there concerning research activities in other parts of the Commonwealth. Thus I should like to tell you first about the work in India, then run quickly over the activities of the other members of the Commonwealth and finally, with the benefit of this perspective, re-survey our own effort here in Canada.

I am sure that if the average citizen were asked what he knew about scientific research and especially defence research in the Commonwealth he would be able to say a good deal about what has gone on in the United Kingdom, a little about work in Canada, and he would probably have heard about the guided missile range in Australia. He would deem it natural that the U.K. should play a leading role in the Commonwealth and indeed in the world in research, that Canada with her rapidly growing population and high level of industrialization should be the next important centre of research in the Commonwealth and that Australia should be a close third. However, I doubt if any Canadian would even think of India in connection with scientific research and yet India has a large and important research organization.

Ordinary scientific and industrial research in India is the responsibility of the Department of Scientific Research in the central government. The importance that is attached to scientific research is shown by the existence of an advisory committee for coordinating scientific work whose chairman is Mr. Nehru himself. Within the Department of Scientific Research is a Council for Scientific and Industrial Research which operates eleven major research laboratories. I was able to pay a brief visit to one of these, the National Physical Laboratory in Delhi, and to see another, the National Chemical Laboratory in Poona. Each of these laboratories is housed in a fine new building larger and more modern than any single laboratory building that we have in Canada. In addition to these main laboratories that deal primarily with basic research there are many smaller laboratories dealing with the problems of particular industries. There are also other important applied research laboratories such as the Agricultural Research Institute which do not come under the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research. Also under the Department of

Scientific Research are the Atomic Energy Commission and the Indian scientific liaison office in the United Kingdom. The Atomic Energy Commission is concerned mainly with fundamental research work at the universities and in the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research in Bombay and with problems associated with the discovery of uranium and the processing of thorium from the huge monazite sand deposits of southern India.

In comparison with these substantial resources for civilian research the defence research organization in India is new and very modest. It consists primarily of a small laboratory which is at present housed in the National Physical Laboratory in Delhi. The laboratory is under the direction of Dr. D. S. Kothari, Scientific Adviser to the Minister of Defence, and deals with a considerable range of problems of immediate practical importance to the Indian services. It represent a small but well planned and competent start on a defence research organization. By working in close cooperation with technical schools in the armed services and with development agencies in ordnance factories it will be able to exert an influence out of all proportion to its size.

I was not in India long enough to form a reliable opinion of the quality of the work that is done in the research establishments but judging from the little I did see and from what I have heard before and since my visit it seems clear that the best scientific research that is done in India is as good as that done anywhere in the world. The average level of competence in these big labs may well be lower than in comparable labs in Canada, partly because the advanced education and post-graduate training required to make first-class research workers is not yet widely available in India and partly because the type of problem that has to be tackled in the applied research establishments of a relatively unindustrialized country do not demand the talents of the highest class of research worker. It has been said, and I think with some truth, that in the first enthusiastic days of the new Republic the Indians did over-expand their research facilities and probably spent more on research laboratories than canny

Canadians would feel was necessary. However, in the modern world there is no doubt that a country is better off to have its scientific research facilities a little in advance of industrial and defence needs rather than lagging behind. The existence of these fine laboratories should attract more and better people into science and so increase the contribution that Indian scientists can make to the progressive development of their country.

Before leaving India I cannot resist commenting upon the infectious enthusiasm with which the government officials we encountered were tackling the difficult problems that beset them. India is a country in which famine is always just around the corner and the average standard of living is very low. The government has embarked upon a five-year plan to increase the agricultural output, improve the standard of life in the villages and increase the industrialization of the country. The officials that I met were devoting themselves to the achievement of these objectives with a missionary enthusiasm that was most exciting and stimulating. I had an opportunity of discussing the programmes with several experts and there seems to be a general feeling that they will in the main achieve their objectives. I came away from India with the firm feeling that at least the top administrators that I met were a most devoted group who were trying hard to solve extremely difficult problems and that they deserved all the support and assistance that we could give them. It is quite likely that they will be successful in solving the problems of the next few years. However, I do not see how it will ever be possible to achieve even guaranteed protection against famine unless some form of population control can be discovered and applied.

Pakistan has made a much less ambitious start on scientific research. Unfortunately a large proportion of the teachers of science in the universities of Pakistan were Hindus and went to India when partition occurred. Consequently the first task that Pakistan has undertaken in building up a research organization is to restore the foundation of scientific teaching in its universities. However, in spite of these difficulties a Council for Scientific and Industrial Research has been formed and a small laboratory is already doing important industrial research in Karachi. A Scientific Adviser to the Minister of Defence was appointed some years ago but he has as yet no research laboratories or staff.

I fear that in my enthusiasm to discuss the problems of India and Pakistan I have wandered far from defence science. I have also demonstrated the typical reactions of the tourist. Having been in India only two weeks, my impressions regarding the country and its problems are clear-cut and the solutions to the problems seem obvious though not necessarily always attainable. I am sure that after two years in India the blacks and whites of my opinions would be much less vivid.

I also had the good fortune to visit Australia last September and October in connection with the British atomic bomb trials. I flew from England in an RAF plane with Sir William Penney. We entered Australia at Darwin in the Northern Territories and flew directly to Woomera to inspect the guided missile range before going on to the site of the atomic bomb trial at the Monte Bello islands. The guided missle range is a remarkable achievement and one of which Australians can well be proud. I feel sure that in the future it will become one of the main centres of guided missile development in the world. It is located in central Australia. The firing point is about 300 miles north and a little west of Adelaide. Near the firing point is the town of Woomera. This town has been built from the ground up since the war. In addition excellent test facilities, including two airfields and extensive instrumentation have been installed. I was greatly impressed not only with the competence of the organization and construction but with the enthusiasm and high morale of the people who worked on the project. The guided missile range is a joint British-Australian project but almost the entire cost has been borne by Australia.

However, the guided missile project is not the whole of Australia's effort in defence science. The Research and Development Branch of the Department of Supply which controls the Long-Range Weapons Establishment also operates six other laboratories concerned with defence science. These include the Aeronautical Research Laboratories, the Defence Standards Laboratories, and the Chemical and Physical Research Laboratories in Melbourne and the High-Speed Aerodynamics Propulsion and Electronics Laboratory at Salisbury, near Adelaide. The total scientific staff of this organization is about equal to the scientific staff of the Defence Research Board or the National Research Council in Canada. Australia also has a very strong Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organization consisting of fifteen divisions, each with a major research establishment and many smaller sections.

I have never had an opportunity to visit New Zealand but have long been aware of the competent research that is carried out under their Department of Scientific and Industrial Research. This Department was established as far back as 1926 and has gradually built up a series of applied research laboratories which not only do applied research for industry but also supply scientific services to other government departments. During the war this organization did excellent defence research and since the war a small nucleus of workers in several of the laboratories have continued to help the armed services with their problems.

In South Africa the arrangements for defence research are somewhat similar. The Council for Scientific and Industrial Research which was established just after World War II operates a series of research laboratories. The South African Army has as an element of it the South African Corps of Scientists. This consists of a small number of younger scientists with commissions in the Army who work on scientific problems for the services. Most of their actual work is done in the laboratories of the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research.

It is obviously not possible in such a brief talk to give more than passing mention to the vast scope of research and development for the armed services in the United Kingdom. Britain devotes a higher percentage of its defence budget to research and development than does any other country in the world. This large-scale expenditure is sometimes criticized as being extravagant. However, from my own personal observations of military research and development in the United Kingdom I would say that it is more effectively organized and more efficiently run than any other research effort of comparable size in the world. It can, in fact, reasonably be argued that Britain's expenditure on defence research prior to World War II led to the development of radar, the Merlin engine, the Spitfire fighter, and in fact the whole air defence system that won the Battle of Britain and prevented the loss of the war.

The outstanding achievements of the British research and development organization since the war are probably the development of an atomic bomb and the maintenance of their lead in jet engines. British scientists and engineers certainly deserve the highest praise for the accomplishment of designing, building and testing an atomic weapon in the short space of five years. It is fortunate that Canadian research at Chalk River was able to give the British substantial support in their efforts but nonetheless the principal credit should go to the British scientists. At the end of the war Britain had a substantial lead over the United States in the development of jet engines. Since then the two countries have engaged in a friendly and cooperative but nonetheless competitive race in this field. British scientists and engineers are happy to feel that they are holding their own in this race. It should be a source of satisfaction to us in Canada and to others in the free world that this competition does exist because it is through this sort of friendly rivalry that the most rapid progress is achieved.

After surveying progress in defence science in other parts of the Commonwealth it is natural that we should look critically at our achievements in Canada. I feel that we can on the whole be very well satisfied with the general growth of science in Canada. We have in the Canadian universities a splendid foundation for the whole scientific community. The universities not only train scientists and engineers who will apply their knowledge to the practical problems of the nation but they also conduct first-class fundamental research. This in turn attracts new generations of scientists into research and gives them the basic training in the methods of science which will later enable them to continue the advance of knowledge on many fronts.

Government research in Canada is remarkably strong. It is led by the National Research Council with its main laboratories in Ottawa and branch laboratories in Saskatoon and Halifax and by two lusty offspring, Atomic Energy of Canada Limited, which operates the atomic energy project at Chalk River, and the National Aeronautical Establishment. But although the National Research Council is often thought of as the civil scientific side of the federal government, it represents only a small part of the total research expenditure of the government. Other important elements in the government's programme include research in the Experimental Farms and Science Service divisions of the Department of Agriculture, in many branches of the Departments of Mines and Technical Surveys and Resources and Development, including such important laboratories as the Mines Branch, the Forest Products Laboratory, and many others. In fact nearly every branch of government now includes some element of scientific research. Many of these, such as the Fisheries Research Board and the several laboratories of the Department of National Health and Welfare, play a dominant part in the affairs of the departments that they serve.

In addition to the federal government effort in research many of the provinces have provincial research organizations. In most cases these organizations operate an information service and do applied research. They attempt to help local industries to solve their own peculiar problems and in doing so call upon the knowledge and resources of all the other research elements in the country. And finally, on the civil side, there is research in industry. In the past Canada naturally imported in the form of finished products or blueprints a large proportion of the research results required to support her industries. However, since World War II there has been a rapid increase in the amount of research, development and design done in Canadian industry. A few of the larger industries now have quite important research laboratories. Many industries have competent development teams that make an essential contribution to their industries by designing and developing new products. In a good many cases even the Canadian subsidiaries of large American corporations are setting up independent research laboratories in Canada. The most tangible evidence of this growing emphasis on design and development in Canadian industry is the insatiable demand for engineers and even scientists in industry. The huge engineering classes of the post-war years have already been completely absorbed without saturating the demand.

Even a brief survey of this whole structure for non-military research in Canada suggests that on the whole its growth has been remarkably rapid and well co-ordinated. If it retains a proper balance during the expected expansion of the next decade there will be a spectacular increase in the scope of industrial research and a much more modest but greatly needed increase in the basic support for research in the universities.

Prior to World War II Canada had no organized research for defence. However, with the rapid industrialization of Canada and the growing importance of science in war it was recognized that Canada must follow the pattern of other industrial nations and establish an applied research organization dealing particularly with the problems of the armed forces. This was done by the formation of the Defence Research Board. When we see the healthy state of the rest of the scientific community in Canada and of the Canadian armed forces it is small wonder that a defence research organization should have prospered in Canada. The Board, which was formed only in 1947, now has under it a defence scientific service comparable in size to the staff of the National Research Council. It operates twelve laboratories scattered across Canada from Halifax to Esquimalt and from Toronto to Churchill. It has the most friendly relations with all the other elements of the scientific community in Canada and regularly enlists their support in defence work. It also has cordial relationships with all the defence science organizations in the Commonwealth and throughout the rest of the free world. I am obviously not the best person to give you an objective view of its accomplishments. However, I am confident that, by rigidly following a policy of specialization in problems of particular importance to Canada, it has established a reputation for doing first-class work. I will not bore you with a detailed survey of its organization and achievements. It is sufficient merely to note how the post-war evolution of the defence research organization has completed the structure of the scientific community in Canada and helped to keep the Canadian services and Canadian industry abreast of progress in other comparable countries throughout the world.

I have said a good deal about defence science in the Commonwealth and mentioned the Commonwealth Advisory Committee on Defence Science. I do not wish to leave with you the impression that there is any closely knit organization of defence science within the Commonwealth or that the Commonwealth attempts to speak with one voice in this field. The real situation is quite the contrary. At a Commonwealth Conference on Defence Science each nation speaks as an independent and sovereign state. Each one reserves the right to make its own decisions on policy and to make its own arrangements for the exchange of information with other nations whether within or outside the Commonwealth. It is for instance clearly recognized that we in Canada have a very special position in relationship to the United States. We have the common problem of defending North America and the great advantage of being close and friendly neighbours. Other members of the Commonwealth sometimes envy us our enduring association with the United States but they do not feel that this is in any way bound up with our Commonwealth associations.

In conclusion I would like to say a brief word about the impression of Canada's position in the world today that I have gained as the result of my trips to Australia and India. As a Canadian I find myself both pleased and embarrassed by the sincere attitude of friendship and admiration with which Canadians are greeted in every country that I have visited. This general attitude makes travel a real pleasure for a Canadian. The embarrassment arises when one starts to wonder whether we in Canada have really done enough to deserve this special attention. I asked several of my friends in other countries this question and they have all said that they did feel that Canada and Canadians deserved the admiration and friendship of the rest of the world. They see as we do that we have been remarkably favoured by Providence in having abundant natural resources, in having inherited and developed a remarkably satisfactory system of government, and in having only one neighbour and that one large, powerful and consistently friendly. However, having admitted these natural advantages they contend that Canadians have done a remarkably good job of exploiting these advantages and while doing it have not lost sight of their responsibilities to the community of nations whether in the United Nations, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, or the Commonwealth. There is also a feeling that if the people of Canada cannot effectively solve their problems then there is little hope for our civilization. They look at Canada and see our free, happy, prosperous and energetic citizens and feel that there is hope for the world and at least some possibility of solving their own much more difficult problems. Our friends throughout the world envy us our motor cars and our television sets, but they do not like and admire us because of our high standard of living but because the Canadians that they have met have been pleasant, modest, honest and friendly. It would lead me too far from the field of defence science to discuss what led this nation to produce people who are regarded with affection throughout the world. I think religion, education, and home environment are the principal factors and we must look critically at modern tendencies in all of these fields to be sure that we are not losing the essential features that have made the nation great. Canadians must not fail to meet the responsibilities that have been thrust upon them by the inheritance of great national wealth, good neighbours and a favoured position in the Commonwealth.

THANKS OF THE MEETING were expressed by Mr. Arthur E. M. Inwood.

THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA, TORONTO, ONTARIO
REPORTS AND ACCOUNTS

30th April, 1953

The President and Members of the Executive Committee,
The Empire Club of Canada,
Toronto, Ontario.

GENTLEMEN,

We have examined the books and accounts of The Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, Ontario, and have prepared and attach hereto a Statement of Receipts and Payments for the year ended 30th April, 1953.

We report thereon as follows:—

Membership Fees:

We are satisfied that in total all 1952-53 fees receivable from Members on record as in good standing as at 30th April, 1953, have been accounted for.

Membership Roll:

Following is a summary of the Membership Roll for the year:

	Resident	*Non-Resident*	*Corporate*	*Honorary and Life*	*Total*
Membership Roll as at 30th April, 1952	1,411	83	—	23	1,517
Net Increase	209	2	1	3	215
Membership Roll as at 30th April, 1953	1,620	85	1	26	1,732

The Treasurer has certified that the Roll as at 30th April, 1953, contained 1,732 Members as shown above.

Payments:

All payments made during the year were duly authorized by the Executive Committee.

Liabilities:

Mr. H. R. Jackman, the Chairman of the Finance Committee, has certified that there were no outstanding accounts as at 30th April, 1953.

Fidelity Bond:

Mr. W. W. Comber, the Treasurer, is bonded for $500.00.

Insurance:

Office Furniture is covered by a fire insurance policy in the amount of $485.00.

Acknowledgement:

We express our appreciation of the courtesy and assistance extended to us by the Treasurer during the course of our audit.

Reported by,

H. T. JAMIESON LEMAY & COMPANY,
CHARTERED ACCOUNTANTS,
Honorary Auditors.

THE ANNUAL FINANCIAL STATEMENT

RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 30TH APRIL, 1953

Cash on Hand and in Bank as at 30th April, 1952				$1,340.35
Current Receipts:				
Membership Fees		$8,647.00		
Proceeds of Sale of Year Books		18.35		
Interest:				
On Investments	$ 44.01			
On Bank Balance	22.74	66.75	$8,732.10	
Current Payments:				
Luncheon Expenses net of proceeds of Sale of Tickets		$ 783.99		
Honoraria:				
Secretary	$ 600.00			
Treasurer	200.00	800.00		
Miscellaneous Expenses		212.98		
Printing, Stationery and Postage		2,960.70		
Printing 1951-52 Year Book		2,672.55		
Recording and Publicity		276.56		
Speakers' Fees and Expenses		268.85		
Telephone and Telegraph		196.37	8,172.00	
Excess of Current Receipts over Current Payments				560.10
Extra Contributions from Members to defray deficit of prior year				1,034.50
				$2,934.95
Investment Purchased:				
$200.00 Par Value Dominion of Canada 3% Bonds maturing 1st September, 1966				187.50
Cash on Hand and in Bank as at 30th April, 1953				$2,747.45

We report that we have examined the books and accounts of The Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, Ontario, for the year ended 30th April, 1953 and have obtained all the information and explanations we have required, and that, in our opinion, the above Statement shows correctly the Receipts and Payments of the Club for the year ended 30th April, 1953.

In addition to the Cash Balance of $2,747.45 the Club holds $1,700.00 par value Dominion of Canada 3% Bonds maturing 1st September, 1966.

As at 30th April, 1953, the Club was committed to publish the 1952-53 Year Book at an estimated cost of $2,700.00.

H. T. JAMIESON LEMAY & COMPANY,
CHARTERED ACCOUNTANTS,
Honorary Auditors.

Toronto, Ontario.
11th August, 1953.

OFFICERS AND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

1953-1954

Officers:

President: Arthur E. M. Inwood
First Vice-President: James H. Joyce
Second Vice-President: Lt. Col. N. D. Hogg, M.B.E.
Third Vice-President: Dr. C. C. Goldring
Secretary: Ernest Miles
Honorary Treasurer: W. W. Comber, C.A.
Honorary Secretary: R. Ford Ralph
Assistant Secretary: Donald H. Jupp, O.B.E.
Honorary Auditor: H. T. Jamieson, F.C.A.

Executive Committee:

H. C. Bourlier
Russell W. Buyers
Lt. Col. C. A. Corrigan, D.S.O., V.D.
Dr. Clarence B. Crummey
Donald M. Fleming, Q.C., M.P.
S. S. Fletcher
Warren Hastings
H. R. Jackman
J. Palmer Kent
H. R. Lawson
Bruce J. Legge
Donald F. McDonald
David G. C. Menzel
Harold Menzies
Col. W. H. Montague, O.B.E.
Z. S. Phimister
David J. Roche
A. G. Sculthorpe

Immediate Past President:

John William Griffin

Past Presidents:

H. G. Colebrook
Sydney Hermant
D. H. Gibson, C.B.E.

CONSTITUTION

INSTITUTED 1903

THE OBJECT OF THE CLUB IS THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE INTERESTS OF CANADA AND A UNITED EMPIRE

Organization of the Club and Branches

Art. 1.—(1) The organization shall be called The Empire Club of Canada.

(2) Branches of the club may be established with the authority of the Executive Committee, and subject to such conditions and regulations as may from time to time be decided upon by the Club in Toronto.

(3) A committee may be appointed under the provisions of sub-section 2, article 1, for the establishment of branches of the Club, and the word "Unit" shall denote a Branch.

Classes of Members

Art. 2.—The Membership of the Club shall consist of

(a) Active Resident Members,
(b) Non-Resident Members,
(c) Life Members,
(d) Honorary Members,
(e) Associate Members,
(f) Corporate or Sustaining Members.

All members must be of the full age of sixteen years, and members of classes (a), (b), (c), (d) and (f) must be British subjects.

Active Resident, Non-Resident and Associate Members

Art. 3.—(1) Candidates for Active Resident, Non-Resident and Associate Membership shall be proposed and seconded by two members of the Club in good standing, and shall be elected by a two-thirds majority of those present at any meeting of the Executive Committee.

(2) Subject to sub-section 4 of this article Active Resident and Associate members shall pay an annual fee of $5.00 and Non-Resident members $3.00, payable on or

before the first day of October in each year. Payment of such fees shall entitle each member to receive a copy of the Year Book. No member in arrears for fees or dues shall be considered in good standing or be eligible for office.

(3) Associate members shall not have the privilege of voting or holding office.

(4) Members whose applications for membership are received after the first day of April in any year shall pay one annual fee only in respect of the period from that time till the 30th day of September in the following calendar year.

Life Members

Art. 4.—(1) Life Members, not exceeding ten in any one year, may be elected from time to time, at an open meeting of the Club, upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee. Provided, however, that Ministers of the Federal Parliament and Premiers of the different Provinces of the Dominion of Canada may be eligible for election at any time, even though their election may cause the number of Life Members to exceed ten in one year.

(2) Life Members shall pay a fee of $75.00 in one sum.

Honorary Members

Art. 5.—(1) Honorary Members may be elected upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee, and at a general meeting of the Club.

(2) Honorary Members shall be exempt from the payment of fees, but shall not have the privilege of voting or holding office.

Corporate or Sustaining Members

Art. 5A—Any company, partnership or business organization shall be eligible for election as a Corporate or Sustaining Member. Applicants shall be proposed by two Active Resident Members of the Club in good standing and the application shall contain the name and position of the Officer nominated by the Applicant as its Candidate for membership. The Applicant and its Nominee shall be elected by a two-thirds majority of those present at any meeting of the Executive Committee. A Sustaining or Corporate Member shall pay an annual fee of $50.00 which shall include the fee of its representative member.

Officers to be Elected

Art. 6—(1) The officers of the Club shall consist of an Honorary President; a President; First, Second and Third Vice-President; an Honorary Treasurer, or a Treasurer, or both; an Honorary Secretary or a Secretary, or both; an Executive Committee which shall consist of the officers appointed under this Article and 17 other members, who, with the officers, shall be elected by ballot, and of the ex-officio members hereinafter mentioned. There may also be elected an Assistant Secretary and Assistant Treasurer. Three Past Presidents together with the immediate Past President shall be the ex-officio members of the Executive Committee for the ensuing year.

Election of Officers

(2) The election of Officers of the Club shall take place at a general meeting of the members, to be held not later than April 30 of each year, at a date to be decided upon by the Executive Committee, and this meeting shall be deemed to be the Annual Meeting. The Officers and Executive Committee then elected shall hold office until April 30th, of the following year, and thereafter until their successors respectively have been duly elected and installed. A Nominating Committee consisting of five members of the Executive Committee and four other members (this Committee shall select its own Chairman) shall be appointed by the Executive Committee and approved at a regular or special meeting of the Club not less than four and not more than six weeks before such Annual meeting, due notice of such regular or special meeting to be given to all members in good standing, and such Committee shall report to the Annual Meeting. If nominations do not exceed the number of the officers and members of the Executive Committee necessary under the

Constitution, the President shall instruct the Secretary to cast one ballot in favour of those so nominated and thereupon such persons shall be declared by the President to have been duly elected.

(3) An Auditor or Honorary Auditor shall be elected at each Annual Meeting.

Standing Committees

(4) Standing Committees shall be appointed as follows:

(a) Budget and Finance Committee.
(b) Speakers' Committee.
(c) Membership Committee.
(d) Constitution Committee.
(e) Luncheon and Reception Committee.
(f) Publicity Committee.
(g) Year Book Committee.

Filling of Vacancies Among Officers

Art. 7.—In the event of an office becoming vacant by death, resignation, or otherwise, the vacancy thus caused shall be filled by the Executive Committee and the person so chosen shall hold office until the next Annual Meeting.

Duties of Officers

Art. 8.—The duties of the Officers shall be those customary to such positions in similar organizations.

Holding of Meetings

Art. 9.—(1) The Club shall hold general meetings weekly, if possible, from October to April, both inclusive, in each twelve months with such intermissions as from time to time may be decided upon.

(2) At the Annual Meeting a report of the year's proceedings and work shall be submitted by the President, and this report shall be accompanied by an interim report from the Treasurer. An audited statement of the finances of the Club for the full financial year shall be published in the Year Book.

Notice of Meetings

Art. 10.—Written or printed notices of all meetings shall be given to the members of the Club. Such notices shall be sufficient if addressed to the members, and deposited post paid in the post office in Toronto.

Quorum at Meetings

Art. 11.—Fifteen members in good standing shall constitute a quorum at any meeting of the Club, general, annual or special, and the presiding officer shall have a casting vote. Nine members shall form a quorum of the Executive Committee.

Limitation of Business at General Meetings

Art. 12.—No business other than the hearing of the addresses and notices of motion shall be introduced at any meeting of the Club, unless it has been submitted to the Executive Committee and received its approval.

Calling of Special Meetings

Art. 13.—Meetings of the Executive Committee shall be called by the President, or on a requisition signed by three of its members. Special meetings of the Club may be called by the President, and shall be called by him on a requisition signed by twelve members and stating the object of the meeting. This object shall be stated in the notice calling the special meeting.

Financial Year

Art. 14.—The Financial Year of the Club shall begin on the first day of May in each year and end on the thirtieth day of April in the year following.

Amendments to Constitution

Art. 15.—This Constitution may be amended at the Annual Meeting, or at a special meeting called for that purpose, subject to a two thirds majority vote of the members present.

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Bate, William B.
Bateman, J. R. A.
Bates, Dr. Gordon
Bates, William D.
Batten, Reg. A.
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Bealey, Ernest R.
Beatty, C. W.
Beatty, D. S.
Beatty, Dr. H. A., M.R.C.S.
Bedford, Morley S.
Bedolfe, Robert D.
Beeston, George H.
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Bell, Cecil B.
Bell, Floyd
Bell, Stewart C.
Bellmore, Herbert J.
Belyea, Roy E.
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Bennett, David T.
Bentley, A. F.
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Berman, Leo.
Berry, J. Wilson
Besley, E. H.
Best, Douglas W.
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Best, T. Harrison
Best, T. W.
Betts, D. Clive
Bick, C. O.
Bird, S. J.
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Birrell, Dr. Russell C
Bishop, H. H.
Bishop, Percy W.
Blackstock, W. M.
Blackwell, H. W.
Blackwell, Hon. Leslie E.
Blair, J. A.
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Blake, Parker G.
Blenkinship, C. S.
Blue, M. F.
Boehm, A. Fred
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Bolger, H. N.
Bolsby, P. J., Q.C.
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Bonnycastle, L. C.
Booth, E. H.
Bosley, W. H.
Bosnell, G. M.
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Boylen, Major J. C.
Boyles, Thomas A.
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Breeze, H. R.
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Britnell, Robert G.
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Brown, Murray
Brown, Ross S.
Brown, S. B.
Brown, Stuart H.
Brown, W. E.
Bruce, A. W.
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Bryce, W. Arch
Bryson, R. N.
Buck, Dr. C. A.
Burden, John M., Q.C.
Burgess, Horace T.
Burgoyne, G. W., B.SC.
Burke, E. T. C.
Burn, Kenneth
Burnett, E. R.
Burns, Chas. F. W.
Burns, H. D.
Burns, Lesslie J. W.
Burnside, E. G.
Burrow, Ernest C.
Burt, Milton G.
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Burton, G. Allan
Bush, Clayton E.
Bushnell, Wm. J.
Butler, W. Chester
Butterfield, L.
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Caldwell, T. W.
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Chambers, Joseph A.
Chappell, H. L.
Charles, Leo E.
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Close, Marshall
Clouse, Geoffrey L.
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Coke, Major E. F.
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Cole, Sydney
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Colebrook, H. G.
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Davis, W. H.
Davis, Walter W.
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Drummond, Gordon Harry
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Dudley, A. H.
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Duffett, Norman G.
Dumsday, W. J.
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Duncanson, A. A.
Dunkelman, D.
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Dunlop, J. E.
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Dutton, Thomas M.
Dye, Harold E.

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Eakin, Joseph S.
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Easton, J.
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Faber, R. W.
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Ferguson, H. H.
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Fessenden, C. V.
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Findlay, Major D. M.
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Finlay, Fred J.
Finlayson, Cecil, Q.C.
Firstbrook, Hugh M.
Fisher, A. B.
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Fisher, Frank
Fisher, J. W.
Fishleigh, Harold F.

Fishman, Philip
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Fitzpatrick, R. G.
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Flemington, Frank P.
Fletcher, S. S.
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Frankling, T. H.
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Frost, C. Sydney
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Fulcher, Victor H.
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Funston, R. O.
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Gaunt, J. William
Geale, Beverley B.
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Gelber, Marvin B.
Gemmel, Hon. W. S.
Genovese, Frank A.
German, V. C.
Gerow, Frank T.
Gerstein, Bertrand
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Gibson, Robert C.
Gilbride, W. P.
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Giles, T. S. H.
Gill, Capt. Cecil
Gill, E. I.
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Gillespie, William
Gillett, L. G.
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Godsoe, J. Gerald, C.B.E.
Gohn, Byron E.
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Goodenough, R. L.
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Goodwin, Harley D.
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Graham, D. M.
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Grainger, R. N.
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Grant, W. G. F.
Grattan, William R. B.
Gravely, J. F.
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Gray, W. B.
Graydon, J. B.
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Greenhough, Thomas C.
Gregg, L. T.
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Grisdale, C. L.
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Grubb, H. B. Dunnington
Guest, A. E.
Gully, Harold M.
Gundy, C. L.
Gunn, Major General John A.
Gunyon, C. Cecil
Guyot, Major Roger

Hadden, Eugene R.
Haering, Geo. J.
Hahn, George
Hailey, A. F.
Hair, Dr. C. H.
Halbus, Prof. Frank
Hall, Howard A.
Hall, I. C.
Hall, W. George
Hall, William
Hallarn, W. J.
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Hanna, William B.
Hanson, E.
Harbinson, V. D., F.C.A.
Harcourt, Major R. M.
Harding, Thomas
Hardy, George
Hardy, H .R.
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Harton, E. Douglas
Harvey, R. C.
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Hatton, E. D.
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Hayden, Hon. Salter A., Q.C.
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Hayward, A. P.
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Henderson, D. C.
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Hicks-Lyne, R. T. E.
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Hillmer, R. W.
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Holden, Dr. Otto
Holmes, Noel
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Houston, H. T.
Hovey, F. L.
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Howden, Rev. H. R.
Howe, H. J.
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Howse, Rev. E.
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Hudson, G. Hector
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Hull, Rodney
Hultay, William
Hummel, William M.
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Hunter, Rev. E. Crossley
Hunter, H. T.
Hunter, K. M., C.A.
Hunter, Rev. L. I.
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Innes, J. S.
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Jeffery, W. H.
Jenney, H. B.
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Johnston, Lt.-Col. Baptist
Johnston, C. H.
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Johnston, G. F.
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Jones, G. J. L.
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Jones, Capt. Stephen G.
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Jupp, Donald H., O.B.E.

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Lang, James
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Lovering, His Honor Judge Egerton
Luby, Cyril J.
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Macdonnell, H. W.
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Mackellar, S. R.
MacKenzie, B. R. P.
Mackey, Wallace A.
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MacKinnon, Angus P.
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